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TEXTUAL CRITICISM

APPLIED TO THE

NEW TESTAMENT.

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OUTLINES

OF

TEXTUAL CRITICISM

APPLIED TO THE

NEW TESTAMENT

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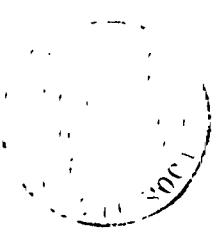
BY

C. E. HAMMOND, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD



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PREFACE.

THE following pages have no claim to originality. The substance of them was collected for a course of College Lectures; and they profess to be no more than a compilation from other larger works. The justification of the writer for publishing them, if there be any, lies in the fact that there is not, so far as he is aware, any single book which serves well as a first introduction to the science of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament in its present advanced state. Dr. Tregelles' History of the Printed Text of the New Testament, and Mr. Scrivener's indispensable Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, were published, the one in 1854, the other in 1861. A new edition of Horne and Tregelles' Introduction to the Study of the Bible was published in 1863; the fourth volume of which, on the New Testament, contains a few pages of *addenda*, with notices of collations and critical publications down to that time; but in other respects it is merely a reprint of the earlier edition of 1856. Since then, however, a good deal has been done, with which the student should be acquainted.

These three books, the articles 'New Testament,' 'Versions (Ancient),' and 'Vulgate,' in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, the Prolegomena to Tischendorf's Greek Testament (seventh edition), and to his editions of the Sinaitic and Vatican Manuscripts, the Prolegomena to Lachmann's Greek Testament, and to Kuenen and Cobet's edition of the Vatican MS., as well as to Dean Alford's last edition of his Greek Testament (vol. i.), and Scrivener's Collation of the Sinaitic MS., are the chief sources from which information has been taken. To such works as these the student must have recourse, if he is led on to wish to fill up much that he will here find sketched in merest outline. To collect into a small compass the leading facts on which the science of Textual Criticism is founded, and to present to the beginner the principles of the science, divested of the repelling mass of detail which necessarily meets him in the larger works, has been the writer's aim; in the hope that he may give some little assistance to those who are entering on a subject that is interesting in itself, and some knowledge of which seems indispensable to an intelligent study of the original Text of the New Testament.

The writer has to thank several friends for their kind help and suggestions, especially the Rev. C. W. Boase of Exeter College, and the Rev. G. W. Kitchin of Christ Church.

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DESCRIPTION OF FACSIMILE PLATE.

No. 1. Seven lines from the Codex Sinaiticus, containing S. John xxi. 24, 25, *Και οιδαμεν οτι αληθησ εστιν η μαρτυρια αυτου· εστιν δε και αλλα πολλα· α εποιησεν ο ις· ατινα εαν γραφηται καθ εν· ου.*

No. 2. Two passages from the Codex Vaticanus.

The first two lines, from the first verse of the Epistle to the Ephesians, show how the words *εν εφεσω* were omitted by the first scribe and inserted afterwards in the margin.

The other passage is from S. John xxi. 25; and taken with No. 1 gives an opportunity of comparing the writing of these two great manuscripts.

The accents in both are due to the scribe who inserted the words *εν εφεσω*.

Both **No. 1** and **No. 2** are taken from the Plate in Tischendorf's Transcription of the Codex Vaticanus.

No. 3. This facsimile, which is excellently rendered from the Plate at the end of the Fifth Volume of Tischendorf's Monumenta Sacra Inedita, exhibits at once specimens of a Palimpsest, an Uncial manuscript of the ninth century, and a Cursive of the thirteenth century. The lower writing, which in Tischendorf's facsimile is of a pale green colour, contains Acts iv. 10–15.

The passage in Cursive character is Heb. vii. 17–25.

The abbreviations for *τέλος* and *ἀρχή*, marking the end and beginning of lections, will be observed in the margin of the Palimpsest writing, in the same ink and by the same hand as the text; showing that the book was prepared for ecclesiastical use. The accents and other marks are *prima manu*.

Nº 1.

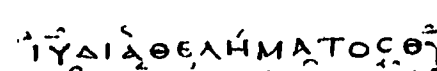
Codex Sinaiticus.

S. John. XXI. 24. 25

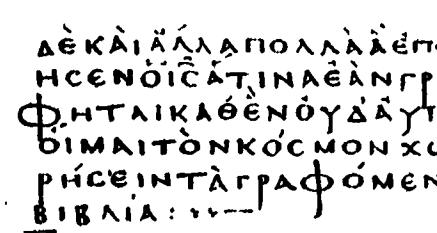
Nº 2.

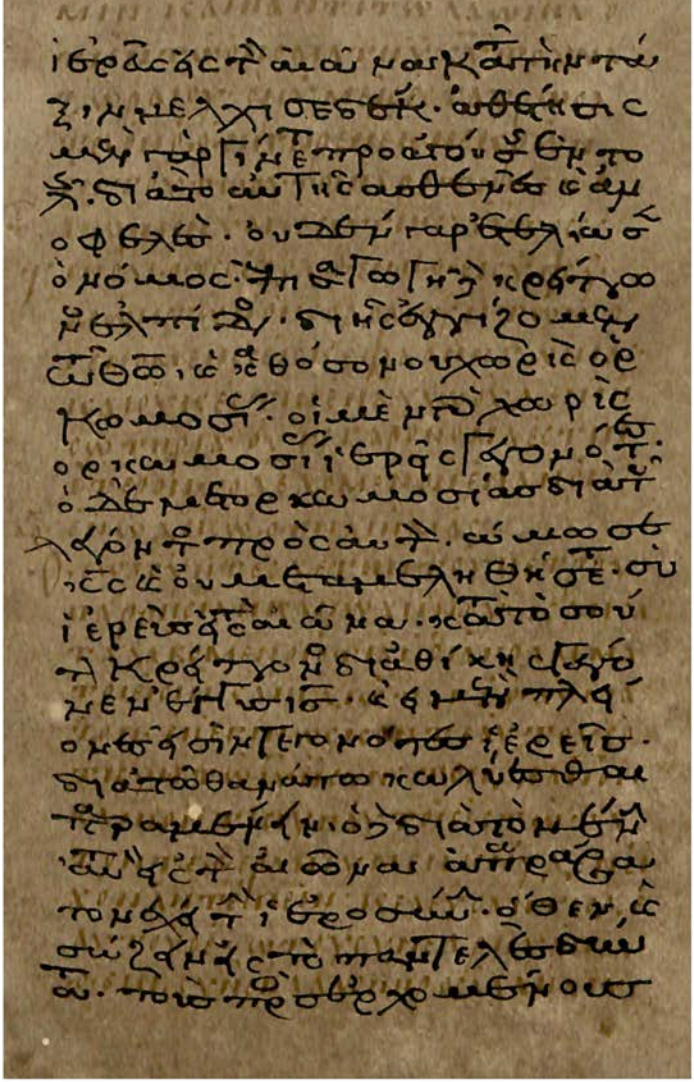
Codex Vaticanus

Ephes I 1



S. John XXI 25





INTRODUCTION.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM as applied to the New Testament may be defined as *the science which determines the mutual relations and values of the various authorities from which the original text of the New Testament is to be ascertained.* Its office is to indicate the limits within which the truth is to be found; to select the witnesses most likely to speak the truth; and then, by cross-examining them and comparing their testimony, to determine what is most probably the true text.

It is evidently assumed, when such a description as this is given, that no value is assigned to the commonly received text of the Greek Testament *as such.* Any claim which it may be supposed to have upon our acceptance must be summarily set aside while the case is being tried on its own merits. That the Textus Receptus was derived from MSS. transcribed at a very late date, and that there is a marked difference between the text presented by such MSS. and a text founded upon early authorities, are undisputed facts. To account for this difference, to determine the relation of the later documents to the earlier, and to decide which class of documents probably most nearly represents the actual words of the writers of the New Testament, are among the chief problems which Comparative Criticism has to solve.

Answers directly opposed to each other have been given to these problems. We may fairly take Dr. Tregelles and

Mr. Scrivener, the two chief English writers on this subject, as the exponents of the opposite schools. Dr. Tregelles says (Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament, p. 138), 'The mass of recent documents possess no determining voice in a question as to what we should receive as genuine readings. We are able to take the *few* documents whose evidence is *proved* to be trustworthy, and safely discard from present consideration the eighty-nine ninetieths, or whatever else their numerical proportion may be. . . . . I should feel that I did indeed put the text of the New Testament in peril, if I adopted the authority of the mass of MSS., which is *proved* to be at variance with what was read by the Christians of the third century at least.' The italics are Dr. Tregelles' own. On the other hand, Mr. Scrivener says (Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, p. 386), 'Irenæus and the African Fathers, and the whole Western, with a portion of the Syrian, Church used far inferior manuscripts to those employed by Stunica, or Erasmus, or Stephens thirteen centuries later, when moulding the Textus Receptus.' And again (p. 409), 'In the far more numerous cases where the most ancient documents are at variance with each other, the later or cursive copies are of much importance, as the surviving representatives of other codices, very probably as early, perhaps even earlier, than any now extant.' This hypothesis then assumes the existence of certain correct codices, different from any of the early codices now extant, all of which have perished, and only survive in their 'representatives'; which moreover remained in such obscurity as to be unknown to the African Fathers, the whole of the Western, and a portion[a] of the Syrian Church.

[a] To say 'the early Syrian Church' would probably be more correct; but this depends upon the mutual relation of the Peshito and Curetonian Syriac Versions, regarding which different estimates are formed by the two schools of critics. (See below, pp. 50, 51, and reff. there.)

This is however undoubtedly the view popularly held in England.

The following pages are an attempt to explain the principles of the other school, with the grounds on which they rest. The earliest adumbration of these principles[b] was given by Bentley in his letter to Archbishop Wake (1716), and his "*Proposals*" (1720); but sufficient materials were not yet collected for him to bring his design to a satisfactory issue. To Lachmann is due the honour of having led the way to tangible results. His larger edition (vol. i. published in 1842, vol. ii. in 1850), in which he was assisted by Buttmann, was a gigantic stride in the science of Textual Criticism placing it at once on a basis of scientific accuracy. Since his death (1851) large additions have been made to our resources, both by the discovery of many new MSS., and by the collation and publication of many that were but imperfectly known before. Had he been able to make use of this fresh evidence, the application of his own principles must have led him to modify some of his conclusions; and thus probably there would have been even fewer discrepancies than there are between the results independently attained by him, by Tischendorf, and by Tregelles. As it is, the constant agreement[c] of these three critics is a strong argument for the correctness of the principles which have guided them.

[b] As it has been said very recently that these principles 'lead to conclusions little short of irrational,' it may be well to inform the reader that they have at any rate satisfied such critics as Professors Westcott and Lightfoot, Mr. F. J. A. Hort, and the late Dean Alford—to mention only English critics.

[c] How close this agreement is, may be clearly seen in the very convenient little edition of the Greek Testament edited by Mr. Scrivener, in which he distinguishes by a difference of type all deviations from the text of Stephens (1550) on the part of the editions of Beza (1565), of Elzevir (1624), of Lachmann (1842–1850), of Tischendorf (1859); and of Tregelles, as far as that work had been published at the time of the last correction. The respective readings are noted at the foot of each page.

There is another question to which the two schools of critics would give different answers; namely, *What weight is to be assigned to subjective arguments in deciding between various readings?* Those critics who profess to take the evidence of actually existing early documents as the basis of their conclusions are only consistent in assigning a very subordinate place to subjective arguments. But even among them peculiarities of mental constitution and training will naturally dispose some individuals to attach more weight to this class of arguments than others do; and this is to a large extent the cause of the differences which are found between the texts of critics of the same school.

The term 'subjective' is here taken to include what Bishop Ellicott (Ep. to Gal., Preface, p. xviii, ed. 1859) distinguishes into *paradiplomatic* and *internal* evidence, meaning thereby respectively, 'The apparent probabilities of erroneous transcription, permutation of letters, itacism, and so forth;' and 'apparent deviations from the *usus scribendi* of the sacred author, or the *propensio*, be it *critica*, *dogmatica*, or *epexegetica*, on the part of the copyist.' The reason why a copyist having one form of words before him wrote another is after all only a question of greater or less probability. Such arguments cannot, and ought not to be ignored by the critic; but it is easy to magnify their weight unduly. To depend upon such considerations must be almost always precarious. For every such argument on one side, it is commonly possible to bring forward a corresponding one on the other[d]. Dean Alford's expression of opinion on this subject is worth quoting; the more so that it shows a very great modification of his original views. He says (G. T., vol. i. Proleg. p. 87, edd. 1863, 1868) 'Experience has brought about some change in my convictions with regard to the application of canons of subjective

[d] See for instance some of the examples at the end of the book, pp. 96, 108, &c.

criticism to the consensus of ancient MSS. In proportion as I have been led severely to examine how far we can safely depend on such subjective considerations, I confess that the limits of their applicability have become narrowed. In very many cases, they may be made to tell with equal force either way. One critic adopts a reading because it is in accord with the usage of the sacred writer; another holds it, for this very reason, to have been a subsequent conformation of the text. One believes a particle to have been inserted to give completeness; another to have been omitted as appearing superfluous.'

The differences exhibited by texts, as edited by critics of the diplomatic school, depend almost entirely upon their views of the limits of applicability of the canons referred to in this statement of Dean Alford. The case may be put as follows: If we decline to consider any but the diplomatic evidence, we arrive at a text which was certainly current in the middle of the second century, or thereabouts; that is to say, not much more than fifty years after the death of the last of the Apostles. So far we are upon ground which is safe, which can be easily surveyed, and which may serve as a clear starting-point and basis of operations. This basis being clearly established, we may proceed further to apply various subjective considerations in any cases that remain still doubtful, with the aim of restoring what we believe the authors of the books must have actually written. In this endeavour there is scope for much valuable research; at the same time, the particular propensions of the critic cannot but show themselves to some extent; and thus, the moment we leave behind the diplomatic evidence, an element of uncertainty is inevitably introduced. Still, if this be borne in mind, and the results stated temperately, and kept clearly distinguished from those which the earliest documentary evidence seems to support, much good may be done, and much help

may be given towards the ultimate solution of the main problem.

The principles and method of the science, as applied to the text of the New Testament, are for the most part the same as those required in dealing with the texts of the ancient classical authors; only the material is far more abundant and various than in the fields of secular criticism.

There are three sources of evidence; viz.—

1. A large number of MANUSCRIPTS OF THE GREEK TEXT, some containing the whole, some containing parts only, of the books which we now call collectively 'The New Testament'; written at various times from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries inclusive, and in all possible states of preservation.

2. VERSIONS, or translations of the Books of the New Testament into other languages than Greek. Those only are of value for critical purposes which were made between the second and seventh centuries. This class of evidence is particularly valuable, as will hereafter be seen, in questions concerning the early existence and prevalence of certain various readings.

3. QUOTATIONS in the writings of the ecclesiastical writers of the first five centuries; which, used cautiously and under conditions that will be explained afterwards (see pp. 58–64), may be made to yield evidence of essential value.

CONJECTURAL EMENDATION, which has been sometimes of necessity exercised on the texts of secular writers, has absolutely no place in the criticism of the text of the New Testament. It is needless, nor does any critic seek to apply it. Amidst the abundance of resources the difficulty is rather to select than to invent. Whereas some of the classical texts rest upon a single late MS., we have between fifteen and sixteen hundred, including several of very early date, to

make use of in discussing the sacred text. Translations into Latin are among the most trustworthy sources of information as to the text of some parts of Plato and Aristotle; but we have no fewer than ten versions of the New Testament[e], each possessing a distinct critical value. Lastly, the Quotations are manifold in the case of almost all the important passages. Thus we have a threefold cord of evidence, each strand of which is itself composed of many threads.

[It is well to bear in mind that where the phrase 'documentary evidence' is used, it must be understood to include all or any of the three sources of evidence above mentioned that may bear upon the point under discussion; and must not be limited, as is too often tacitly done, to MSS. alone.]

[e] A sort of parallel to this is found in the sacred literature of the Buddhists. The Sanscrit originals of their sacred books have been translated into Thibetan, Mongolian, Chinese, and Mantschu; and the Pâli (Ceylon) originals into the languages of Burmah and Siam. (Max Müller's 'Chips from a German Workshop,' vol. i. pp. 193, 195.)

CHAPTER I.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE 'TEXTUS RECEPTUS.'

THE New Testament in Greek was not printed till the beginning of the sixteenth century. Up to that time it was circulated in manuscripts only. A few detached portions had been printed earlier; but the first complete edition was that prepared at Alcalà in Spain by Cardinal Ximenes, forming the fifth volume of the magnificent Triglott edition of the whole Bible published by him, and called, from the Latin name of the place, *The Complutensian.* The fifth volume was printed in 1514, and the whole work was completed in 1517, a few months only before Cardinal Ximenes' death. Some delay occurred after this, and it was not published till 1522. Only six hundred copies were printed. At that period little was understood of Greek criticism, or of the relative value of manuscripts. The Latin version was thought to be the truthful standard, and held the place of honour on the pages of this edition between the Hebrew and the Greek. The particular manuscripts from which the Complutensian text is formed have not been identified with certainty, but it is clear from the character of the text that none were used which do not belong to that type which we shall see reason to consider of late origin.

During the preparation of this work, a printer at Basel, named Froben, hearing of the Cardinal's design, and wishing

to anticipate it, prevailed on the well-known scholar, Erasmus, to prepare an edition for the press. This was done in great haste; and Erasmus' first edition was published in 1516, being thus the first published, though not the first printed, Greek text. He had four manuscripts to work from, all of which are identified: one of these is of great value, having a text approaching that of B and L; but its variations from the others caused him to be suspicious of it, and he based his text almost wholly on the other three, which are all of the late type[a]. In the Apocalypse he boldly retranslated i. 15–20 from the Latin, his manuscript being defective; and he interpolated several words elsewhere, which exist in no known Greek MS (see Scriv. Introd. p. 296). These interpolations, as well as Acts viii. 37, for which the only ancient testimony is the Latin version, have continued in the ordinary Greek text to the present day, and thence hold their place in our English translation. Erasmus however did not insert the verse 1 S. John v. 7, till his third edition. His second edition (1519) is of no special importance: it differs from the first in having many misprints corrected, which had crept in through the haste with which the work was brought out. The third edition (1522) is to be remarked as having for the first time a few various readings noted in the margin. More important however to us is the fourth edition (1527), which Erasmus corrected by the Complutensian, and which became the basis of the Textus Receptus.

[a] The statement that the few manuscripts used for the text are of a late type must be taken for granted by the reader at this stage of the enquiry. They are cursives, and present the characteristics of the Byzantine class (see pp. 67, 68). The only three MSS. of a different type known to any of these editors, viz. D, D_2, 1, were looked on with suspicion and little used. The relative age and value of the various classes of MSS. is discussed below in Chap. vi.

The next most important edition is the third of Stephens, known as the *Editio Regia*, published at Paris in 1550. The text varies very little from that of Erasmus' fourth edition. Its special value depends on the considerable and systematic collection of various readings from fifteen fresh manuscripts, including the valuable and ancient Codex Bezæ (D), which Stephens added in the margin. The influence of prescription already shows itself in the fact that Stephens often follows the text of Erasmus, in defiance of the authority of his manuscripts.

Beza (1519–1605) published various editions between 1556 and 1598. He added a few more various readings from other manuscripts; but he still followed Stephens' text closely.

Later still the Elzevirs brought out their beautifully executed editions at Leyden, between 1624 and 1633. The text is again little more than a reproduction of Stephens'[b]; in fact it is asserted by them in the preface to their second edition to be *ab omnibus receptus:* and from this phrase comes the designation 'Textus Receptus.'

From this sketch it will have been seen that our Textus Receptus is based upon a very few manuscripts. It is true that a number of various readings had been collected; but they were only placed in the margin, and were not used in reconstructing the text, except occasionally, and then on no fixed principles. The value of various readings was not yet appreciated.

We must further bear in mind that the necessity for scrupulous accuracy in the work of collation was not yet understood; that the text of the Vulgate was corrupt;

[b] Stephens' and Elzevir's texts differ in 286 places according to Scrivener (Proleg. to G. T. Cantab. 1862, p. vi). Our English version appears to follow sometimes one and sometimes the other. See Smith's Dict. Bib. vol. ii. p. 524.

that no help was sought from Oriental Versions; nor any attention paid to Patristic Quotations.

Enough has been said to show that no critical value is to be assigned to the Textus Receptus. In saying this we by no means imply that blame is due to Erasmus, Stephens, or Beza, for not being on a level with the critics of the present day. Principles of textual criticism could not be worked out until materials had been collected: and the collection of materials was the work of time and research. These men were the pioneers of the advance, and did indispensable service. But we must learn not to elevate the text formed from their materials into an authority. The facts which we are about to discuss will show us that while we are warranted in refusing any authority to the Textus Receptus, we are led with reasonable certainty towards a new text, somewhat different from the old one, and with some few points still undetermined, but resting on the basis of an infinitely multiplied stock of materials, and supported by a well-understood and searching system of criticism.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE ORIGIN OF VARIOUS READINGS.

It is important that we should try to realize the amount of depreciation to which a text is liable under the hands of successive copyists. From the very nature of the case it is probable that errors should creep in. We know how liable printed books are to suffer from typographical errors: they have however this advantage, that by due care most of the errors will be corrected before the book is published; and then all the copies issued will have the same degree of correctness. In the case of a manuscript, not only is the difficulty of correcting the errors greater, but after all the correctness of only one copy is secured. Further, when this copy comes to be in its turn an exemplar to be copied, its own particular errors will be reproduced; and the copyist will certainly be found to have made fresh errors; and thus at each stage the text will tend to recede more and more from the original. The natural conclusion from this is, that the text of a manuscript written in the fifteenth century would probably differ from the autograph text of the Apostles, more widely than a manuscript of the fourth century. Of course there is always the *possibility* that a recent codex may be a direct copy from one of great antiquity; and thus be a more trustworthy representative of the original, than one made some centuries earlier than itself. Such a claim must be proved for every alleged case.

The case however rests on stronger grounds than mere presumption. Of all the known MSS. of the Greek text, amounting to just under sixteen hundred, only two pairs so resemble one another as to render it probable that they are in any way mutually connected one with the other. The comparison of any two then would give rise to a number of various readings; and the number would of course be increased as more MSS. were compared. The possible sources of these variations are not very numerous, and can be easily understood by considering the mode in which MSS. were transcribed, and the chances to which they were liable during the centuries which have since elapsed.

The majority of the later MSS. were doubtless executed in the monasteries, of which the *Scriptorium* was a regular department. But in earlier times they must have been the production of the regular professional copyists, who would regard their task as a mere piece of business, and would bring to it no particular religious feeling nor extraordinary pains. Sometimes books were multiplied by dictation[a], one person reading aloud the copy, while a number of scribes wrote simultaneously. More commonly, however, where care was needed, the scribe would have the exemplar before him and copy it singly; or several scribes might undertake different parts of the work. The copy thus taken was subjected to a careful revision, being recompared with the exemplar, and sometimes a second time with some standard copy. The technical words for these processes are respectively *ἀντιβάλλειν* and *διορθοῦν*. The corrector was sometimes the scribe himself, sometimes a different person. Such a

[a] This is the common statement. Professor Madvig however denies that this was ever the case. He is speaking of the MSS. of secular writers; and considers that all *errores scribendi* may be shown to depend upon failure of attention or of memory, the hand of the scribe not following his eye. (Adversaria Critica, vol. i. p. 10.)

comparison with a copy in repute would add value to the codex, and would be noted accordingly; e. g. in the Codex Friderico-Augustanus the following words occur in the subscription to the Book of Esther: *μετελημφθη και διορθωθη προσ τα ἑξαπλα Ὡριγενουσ ὑπ αὐτου διορθωμενα. Ἀντωνινοσ ὁμολογητησ ἀντεβαλεν, Παμφιλοσ διορθωσα (sic) το πευχόσ ἐν τη φυλακη.*

In how merely professional a spirit this revision was sometimes executed is well exemplified by some of the corrections found in the Codex Vaticanus (B). One of the commonest errors in manuscripts is a confusion of *ει* with *ι*. Now in different parts of the Cod. Vat. the same word is found spelt sometimes with *ει*, sometimes with *ι*; e. g. in S. Luke xxiii. 10, S. John vii. 37, &c., *ειστηκεισαν, ειστηκει* are rightly written by the original scribe; in S. Matt. xii. 46, xiii. 2, &c. they stand *ιστηκεισαν, ιστηκει*. In the latter places the corrector has substituted the *ει* in the first syllable; in the former, he has wrongly substituted *ι* for *ει*. Manifestly this is the work of no intelligent critic. The corrector must have had a codex before him, in which the vowel and diphthong were confused; and with mechanical accuracy he transferred the confusion to the pages which he was correcting.

Sometimes it appears as if a codex had passed into the hands of some learned person, who had an opportunity of recomparing it with another exemplar, and thus a further series of corrections was introduced; a process which might take place more than once. When this has been the case, it is easy to see what an amount of tact, patience, and judgment, may be required to decipher, weigh, and arrange, all the evidence that the manifold corrections may be made to give. The Cod. Sinaiticus (ℵ) has corrections by no fewer than twelve hands, of dates ranging from the fourth to the twelfth century. The Cod. Vaticanus (B) is corrected throughout from another MS. (See the proofs of this in Kuenen and

Cobet's edition, Pref. pp. xxiii–xxxviii.) As the corrections in this last case are of the same age as the original writing, though not by the original scribe, it is clear that within the compass of one codex we have the evidence of *two* manuscripts, each perhaps much older than the codex itself, which dates from the middle of the fourth century.

Another fruitful source of various readings is that the possessor of a MS. would write in the margin some explanatory note, which a subsequent scribe, with the MS. before him for a copy, looked upon as having been an accidental omission, and incorporated in his new text. Instances of this will be found below.

On the whole, the possible sources of various readings may be classified as follows. The last head has been added because certain alterations have been sometimes attributed to that cause: there appears however to be no good ground for the suggestion. The alterations which have been set down to this source may all be as justly attributed to other sources as to this.

Possible sources of various readings.

- Unconscious, or unintentional.
  1. Errors of *sight*.
  2. Errors of *hearing*.
  3. Errors of *memory*.
- Conscious, or intentional.
  4. Incorporation of marginal glosses, &c.
  5. Corrections of harsh or unusual forms of words, or expressions.
  6. Alterations in the text to produce supposed harmony with another passage, to complete a quotation, or to clear up a supposed difficulty.
  7. Liturgical insertions.
  8. Alterations for dogmatic reasons.

A few typical instances of the various readings arising from each of these sources shall now be given in order.

1. To this head will belong omissions arising from what is called *Homoioteleuton*. If two consecutive lines in the exemplar before the copyist ended with the same word, or even sometimes with the same syllable, his eye caught the second line instead of the first, and he omitted the intermediate words. Occasionally this happens at longer distances than single lines. This is perhaps the reason of the omission in many codices of the words *ὁ ὁμολογων τον υἱον και τον πατερα ἐχει*, 1 S. John ii. 23, which are wanting in the Textus Receptus, but which belong to the true text; and of the words *τουτο δε ἐστιν το θελημα του πεμψαντος με*, S. John vi. 39, in Cod. C. In both these cases the clause preceding the omission ends with the same words as the clause omitted. The notes of any critical edition of the New Testament will supply numerous other instances.

Under this head may also be classified the variations arising from the confusion of similar letters, as Є, C (Σ), O, Θ; or A, Λ, Δ. This and the following kinds of error chiefly occur in uncial manuscripts; in which the words are written continuously, without any break or space between them. This is the origin of the well-known difficulty in 1 Tim. iii. 16 between the readings OC (*ὅς*) and $\overline{\text{ΘC}}$ (*θεός*).

Similar letters or syllables are sometimes omitted and sometimes inserted; e. g. for the true reading ΠΡΟC-ЄΛΘΩΝ in S. Matt. xxvi. 39, we have ΠΡΟЄΛΘΩΝ in Codd. B, M; and for ЄΚΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ in S. Luke ix. 49 we find ЄΚΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑΤΑΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ in Cod. H.

Letters sometimes become transposed; e. g. Acts xiii. 23, for $\overline{\text{CP}}$ΑΙ$\overline{\text{N}}$ (*σωτῆρα Ἰησοῦν*) we find in Codd. H, L, $\overline{\text{CP}}$ΙΑΝ (*σωτηρίαν*). The thin horizontal lines above the words, which mark a contraction, are easily misplaced or overlooked, and in process of time would fade.

2. Perhaps to *errors of hearing* may be assigned the frequent *itacisms*, or confusion of letters having similar sounds, which are found in manuscripts of every age: or they may arise from degenerate pronunciation. One of the commonest confusions is that of the letters I and ΕΙ, which are interchanged continually, even in words where the I is short: e.g. 1 Thess. i. 3 in Cod. B, ἀδιαλείπτως stands written ΑΔΕΙΑΛΙΠΤΩϹ *primâ manu*. In many cases, as in this last, the variation makes no difference in the sense, and can be at once corrected; but it is easy to see that such confusion might materially affect the sense.

The following are some of the commonest itacisms; and the instances of each are such as would involve a greater or less difference in the sense.

Confusion of ΑΙ and Ε is very common: e.g.

ὑποτασσετε for -ται, S. Luke x. 20 (Cod. B*).
ἑταιροις for ἑτεροις, S. Matt. xi. 16 (several MSS.).

Α — Ε ἀκουσατε for -σετε, S. Matt. xiii. 14 (Cod. B*).
πληρωσετε for -σατε, S. Matt. xxiii. 32 (Cod. B*).

Ι — Η ληνον for λινον, S. Matt. xii. 20 (Cod. B^3).
καμιλον for καμηλον, S. Luke xviii. 25 (Cod. S).
χριστος for χρηστος, 1 S. Pet. ii. 3 (Codd. K, L).

Ι — ΕΙ στρατεια for στρατια, Acts vii. 42 (Codd. A, B, D).
ειαται for ἰαται (for ἵαται perf., not ἰᾶται pres.), S. Mark v. 29 (Cod. B*).

Ο — Ω late and comparatively rare:
ποιησομεν for ποιησωμεν, S. Luke iii. 14 (several codices).
βαθεος for βαθεως, S. Luke xxiv. 1 (Cod. E, &c.).
μετα διωγμον for -μων, S. Mark x. 30 (several cursives).
ὁ ειπων for ὁν ειπον, S. John i. 15 (Cod. $\aleph^a$, B*, C*).

An instance of an error of sound, slightly different in kind from the foregoing, is perhaps καιπερ ἐστιν for και παρεσται, Apoc. xvii. 8, which some of the cursives give, and which has passed into the Textus Receptus.

Sometimes we find the terminations of consecutive words assimilated, e. g. του ἀγγελου αὐτου του δουλου αὐτου for του ἀγγελου αὐτου τω δουλω αὐτου (Cod. A), Apoc. i. 1; or λεγοντων Ἰουδαιων for λεγοντων Ἰουδαιουσ (Cod. C), Apoc. ii. 9.

There is one sort of error which might be placed under either of these classes; arising from a confusion between words spelt with a single or double consonant: e. g. οὐχ ὁτι περι των πτωχων ἐμελλεν αὐτω, S. John xii. 6 (Cod. B), for ἔμελεν. So between γεγεννημαι, ἐγεννηθησαν, and γεγενημαι, ἐγενηθησαν, S. John i. 13, &c.; and ἐγενηθημεν νηπιοι for ἐγ. ἤπιοι (Codd. ℵ, B*) in 1 Thess. ii. 7.

3. To error of memory may probably be attributed the not unfrequent substitutions of synonymous words, such as ἐφη for εἰπεν; μιμηται for ζηλωται, 1 Pet. iii. 13 (Codd. K, L); interchange of ὁραω and θεωρεω, &c.; while the interchange, omission, or insertion of small particles like κἀι, δε, τε, give rise to numberless variations.

4. The following are probably instances of marginal glosses accidentally incorporated in the text:

καὶ βλέπε inserted after ἔρχου, Apoc. vi. 1, 3, 5, 7.

Acts xv. 24, λέγοντες περιτέμνεσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον,

„ „ 34, ἔδοξε δὲ τῷ Σίλᾳ ἐπιμεῖναι αὐτοῦ,

both which passages are wanting in most of the best MSS. There is a most singular instance in one cursive manuscript, where, at 2 Cor. viii. 4, 5, the scribe has written δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς [ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὕτως εὕρηται] καὶ οὐ καθὼς ἠλπίσαμεν. The words within the brackets, which brackets do not of course appear in

the original, were no doubt a marginal note in the codex from which the scribe was copying, and have reference to the words δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς, which are omitted in the best codices. There was a much stronger tendency to insert than to omit; whence springs the well-known canon *lectio præferatur brevior:* that is to say, if there are two readings, one longer than the other, the short reading is more likely than the other to be the true one.

5. In the earlier MSS. we find many forms of words and expressions that are quite unclassical: such as τεσσερακοντα for τεσσαρακοντα; σπειρης, Acts xxi. 31; μαχαιρη, S. Matt. xxvi. 52; πλημμυρης, S. Luke vi. 48; the μ constantly inserted in parts of λαμβανω and its derivatives, λημψομαι, λημφθεις, &c.; the final ς of οὕτως and the ν ἐφελκυστικόν constantly affixed even before consonants; ν not assimilated in verbs compounded with εν and συν, e. g. ἐνκακειν, συνκαλειν; 2nd aor. forms with 1st aor. terminations, as εἶδα, ἦλθα, &c.; and such harsh constructions as ἀπο ὁ ὢν, Apoc. i. 4; with many more, of which Part II. of Winer's Grammar of N. T. Greek, the Prolegomena of Tischendorf's Greek Test., or Scrivener's Introduction, will give examples. These are for the most part altered in the later MSS. into classical forms; and the phrase above quoted from Apoc. i. 4 is rendered less abrupt by the insertion of τοῦ, as it is now read in the Textus Receptus, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ ὤν, κ. τ. λ. Kuenen and Cobet, in their edition of the Vatican MS. (Leyden, 1860), make merry with the want of scholarlike acumen on the part of editors who retain such forms in their text; and assume that they have their origin solely in the ignorance and '*plebeia συνήθεια*' of the scribes. But they occur with such persistent frequency in the earlier MSS., that it is difficult to believe that they

had no place in the original text. At any rate, those editors whose aim is to represent the earliest form of text which they believe attainable according to their principles, are consistent in retaining such forms. (See below, chap. vi.)

6. Alteration, either by substitution or addition, in order to produce conformity in parallel passages, is a fruitful source of variation. Dr. Tregelles has suggested that Tatian's Diatessaron, formed in the second century, probably fostered this tendency, by bringing the parallel passages into juxtaposition, and thus drawing attention to their differences. But the practice is not by any means confined to the Gospels. Some instances are S. Matt. xix. 17, *τί με ἐρωτᾶς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός*, changed into *τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς*, from the parallel passages in S. Mark and S. Luke[b]. Again, in S. Matt. xvii. 2, for *λευκὰ ὡς τὸ φῶς*, D and other authorities have *λευκὰ ὡς χιών*, from S. Mark ix. 3. In the account of S. Peter's Denial (S. Mark xiv.) several alterations are introduced into Cod. ℵ, apparently to produce harmony with the other accounts: *δὶς* is omitted in ver. 30, *καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησε* in ver. 68. and *ἐκ δευτέρου* in ver. 72. In Acts ix. 4, *σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν* is added by Cod. E, from the parallel passage in ch. xxvi. 14, to which the words really belong.

Quotations from the Old Testament are constantly amplified; as at Rom. xiii. 9, where *οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις* is inserted in some cursives; Heb. xii. 20, *ἢ βολίδι κατατοξευθήσεται* is added in some after *λιθοβοληθήσεται*. On S. Matt. xv. 8, see below, p. 74.

[b] A full discussion of this much-disputed reading will be found at pp. 72, 73.

7. Two distinct kinds of variations are assigned to this head:—

α. Many of our existing MSS. are copies, not of the whole New Testament, nor of consecutive portions of it, but of Lectionaries; that is to say, collections of passages selected for public reading in the Church services, either as Lessons, or Epistles and Gospels. In passages thus taken out of their connection a word or two must often be added to give a complete sense: sometimes a proper name is substituted for a pronoun; and sometimes a connecting particle will be dropped. All such changes are noted as various readings, though of course they are immaterial to the sense. Hence possibly arose the readings εἶπε δὲ ὁ Κύριος, S. Luke vii. 31, and καὶ στραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς εἶπεν, S. Luke x. 22. Just the same sort of variation may be noticed if the Gospels for the third and fourth Sundays after Easter in our Prayer-book, or some of those for the Sundays after Trinity, be compared with the same passages as they stand in their original connection.

β. There are two or three insertions in the New Testament which have been supposed to have their origin in ecclesiastical usage. The words in question, being familiarly known in a particular connection, were perhaps noted in the margin of some copy, and thence became incorporated by the next transcriber; or a transcriber's own familiarity with the words might have led to his inserting them. This is the source to which Dr. Tregelles assigns the insertion of the Doxology at the close of the Lord's Prayer, in S. Matt. vi., which is wanting in most of the best authorities. Perhaps also Acts viii. 37, containing the baptismal Profession of Faith, which is entirely wanting in the best authorities, found its way into the Latin text in this manner.

8. A charge of altering the text of the Scriptures with a motive is so serious a matter, that we ought only to make it if supported by very strong grounds. Now there is really no evidence that the transcribers of all our known manuscripts did not do their work in perfect good faith, however many errors they may have allowed to creep in through carelessness or ignorance. Among readings for which this cause has been suggested are the alterations in S. Matt. xix. 17 (see above, under No. 6); the variant *κυρίου* in Acts xx. 28 for *θεοῦ*; and the substitution of *οὔπω* for *οὐκ*, S. John vii. 8; *Ἰωσὴφ* for *πατὴρ αὐτοῦ*, S. Luke ii. 33; *υἱὸς* for *θεός*, S. John i. 18; the insertion of a mention of *fasting* with *praying* S. Matt. xvii. 21, S. Mark ix. 29, Acts x. 30, 1 Cor. vii. 5.

We are now in a better position, after this enumeration of possible sources of error, to estimate the chances against the original text being preserved unaltered through a series of transcriptions. One would naturally expect a divergence of the text of any given MS. from the original text, proportionate to the number of transcriptions it had undergone. Each transcriber in turn would probably import some variations through inadvertence.

But now another consideration must be added. So long as the transcriptions are made under similar circumstances, the tendency will be to accumulate errors of the same kind. Hence comes the result, paradoxical at first sight, that *from originals, marked by decided individual characteristics, texts may be produced that converge towards, and successively more nearly exhibit, another particular type.* 'Groups of copies spring, not from the imperfect reproduction of the character of one typical exemplar, but from the multiplication of characteristic variations.' We should expect then to find, in process of time, a number of

MSS., mutually differing from one another in small respects, but tolerably unanimous in presenting a text which will differ in *complexion* from the text presented by much earlier MSS.; and that though the former might have been derived by direct descent from the latter. This is just what we do find.

NOTE.

It will be instructive to compare with the foregoing list the classification of errors which Professor Madvig makes, in laying down the principles of Textual Criticism as applied to secular writings. (Adversaria Critica, lib. i. cap. 1.)

1. Permutation of similar letters, and (in certain cases) of words.
2. Faulty division and connexion of words. (Cursive MSS. transcribed from uncials which were written continuously are very liable to this kind of error.)
3. Doubling of letters, syllables, or words which ought to be written once only.
4. Omission of letters or words (by homoioteleuton or otherwise), and transposition by carelessness.
5. Assimilation of neighbouring words to one another in respect of the terminations.

The five foregoing sorts of error are unintentional, and arise from failure of attention, or of memory.

6. Introduction of foreign matter (glosses, &c.). This arises from defective knowledge, or error of judgment in the scribe.
7. Correction or interpolation by the scribes, with greater or less degree of *intentional* alteration of their 'copy.' The most frequent and flagrant cases of this error occur in the later MSS. It is comparatively rare in early MSS.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE GREEK TEXT.

§ 1. *On the number, mode of designation, &c., of MSS.*

THE gross total number of manuscripts of the Greek Text whose existence is known, uncial and cursive included, is stated by Mr. Scrivener to be 1583[a]. It must not however

[a] The exact calculation, taken from Scrivener's Introduction, p. 225, corrected by the *addenda et corrigenda* to that volume at p. viii, is as follows:—

	Uncial.	Cursive.	Duplicates deducted.
MSS. of Gospels	34	601	32
„ Acts and Cath. Epp.	10	228	14
„ Pauline Epp. . .	14	280	15
„ Apoc.	4	102	—
„ Evangelistaria . .	58	180	6
„ Praxap.	7	65	—
Total	127	1456	67

The summary given in Smith's Dict. of Bible, art. 'New Testament,' vol. ii. p. 516, note f, will agree with this, if the corrections from Scrivener's Introduction in the two places above cited be applied. For a full explanation of the last column see below, p. 26. It means that some of the MSS. contain more than one of the parts of the New Testament enumerated in the first column.

be supposed, either that they are manuscripts of the whole New Testament, or that the contents of all of them have been fully examined.

The Cod. Sinaiticus is the only uncial that exhibits the whole New Testament entire. Cod. A is very nearly complete; Cod. B is not quite so complete, but has by far the larger part of the New Testament; Cod. C contains portions of every one of the books; and there are twenty-three or twenty-four cursives which are either complete or very nearly so.

The student should carefully mark the conventions commonly used in citing MSS. At the same time he must remember that they are not uniformly adopted yet, but that each critic has some slight peculiarities of his own.

α. Capital letters are used to denominate uncials; numerals to denominate cursives.

β. The Books of the New Testament were generally divided into four volumes: viz. (1) the Gospels; (2) the Acts and Catholic Epistles; (3) the Pauline Epistles; (4) the Apocalypse. If a MS. contain more than one of these volumes, the books generally follow each other in this order. There are a few special exceptions, which are given by Scrivener (Introd. p. 61, § 24). Besides these four volumes, there are the Lectionaries (see p. 21), denominated (5) Evangelistaria, or (6) Prax-apostoli, according as the selection of passages is made from the Gospels, or Acts and Epistles. Our existing MSS., whether uncials or cursives, are thus distributed into six groups. Now, with regard to the first four of these groups, it is to be remarked that *the series of letters and numerals commence over again for each group:* consequently, a MS. which includes more than one of these volumes will be counted afresh in each series, and possibly not in the same place in the series.

Thus we find different MSS. denoted by the same letter or numeral, in different parts of the New Testament; and the same MS. denoted by different letters, or numerals, in the different parts: e. g. ℵ, A and C, whose readings run through the whole of the New Testament, are quoted by the same letters everywhere; but B, the letter under which for the first three of the four volumes the well-known Vatican MS. is cited, is assigned to a different MS. (Cod. Basilianus) in the Apocalypse, which book is wanting in the great Vatican MS. So D is the designation of Cod. Bezæ in the Gospels and Acts, but of Cod. Claromontanus in the Epistles of S. Paul; and E means Cod. Basiliensis for the Gospels, Cod. Laudianus for the Acts, and Cod. Sangermanensis for S. Paul's Epistles [b]. On the other hand, Gosp. 33 is the same MS. as Acts 13 and Paul 17, &c. &c.

γ. Where a MS., as is frequently the case, has been corrected by later hands, it is customary to distinguish the readings of the different correctors by small numerals placed above, and to the right of, the letter denoting the MS.; like the index of an algebraical power: e. g. C^1, C^2, C^3, would denote readings introduced by first, second, or third corrector respectively. An asterisk (*) affixed in the same way denotes the reading of the original scribe.

Many of the uncial MSS. are mere fragments; some of them contain but a few verses. The readings of all the

[b] It would seem convenient if the well-known mathematical convention suggested by Professor Westcott in the Article 'New Testament,' in Smith's Dict. of Bible, were adopted:—viz. that where the same letter is used more than once, the cases should be distinguished by a small numeral subscribed to the letter. Thus in the examples above given we should distinguish the MSS. as B_1, B_2; E_1, E_2, E_3, &c.

uncials may be considered to be satisfactorily determined. Of the cursives, on the other hand, Scrivener marks only about 140 in his list with an asterisk, by which he indicates that a MS. has been thoroughly collated. Many more than this have been inspected, and collated more or less carefully; but the work of earlier critics is often not marked by the scrupulous accuracy that is now demanded.

§ 2. *On some palæographic details.*

For a minute description of the materials and palæographic details of MSS., the reader should consult some larger work, such as Mr. Scrivener's; or Horne and Tregelles' Introduction, vol. iv. A very few remarks will suffice for the object of this book. Uncial characters were employed down to the tenth or eleventh centuries; but cursive characters began to come into use as early as the ninth; therefore we have some cursive MSS. older than some uncials.

It may be laid down as a general rule that the more upright, square, and simple the uncial characters are, the earlier is the writing. Narrow, oblong, and leaning characters came in later, together with greater elaborateness in style. Absence of initial letters of larger size than the rest is a mark of antiquity. In the earlier MSS. marks of breathing, accent, and punctuation are very rare, frequently absent altogether; or, if present, inserted on no apparent fixed principle, except that a dot, to mark the division of sentences, became pretty general about the beginning of the fifth century. In some MSS., where the accents appear, they have been added by a much later hand. From these and other marks of a like kind it is perfectly possible for an expert to fix the date of any given manuscript by inspection, to within fifty years at the outside, without regard to the subject matter of the book.

§ 3. *On the various systems of divisions of the text.*

We must first notice the arrangement of the text in στίχοι (*line-clauses*). The use of this would probably be to assist the reader; for the length of the lines varies considerably, answering closely enough to the intervals at which we should place commas to mark the slight pauses in the sense. Not many MSS. are arranged in this way; the waste of space being too considerable in days when vellum was the only material for books of value.

It is uncertain who divided the Gospels on this principle. S. Paul's Epistles, and the Acts and Catholic Epistles, were so arranged by Euthalius, a deacon of Alexandria, in the latter half of the fifth century; the Pauline Epistles in 458; the Acts and Cath. Epp. in 490 A. D.

The subscriptions however in Cod. ℵ to some of the Epistles, by a very ancient hand, recording the numbers of the στίχοι in the Epistles (which numbers agree with those of Euthalius in only one instance), seem to indicate the existence of a still older division on this principle.

I. Of the GOSPELS there are several systems of division.

1. The one which seems to be the oldest of all extant is found in Cod. B and Cod. Ξ only. The breaks depend on the sense; a fresh section commencing wherever a new subject is introduced. Hence, though valuable to the reader, it would be an inconvenient division for public use, since the sections are of very unequal length. They are reproduced in Dr. Tregelles' edition of the Greek Text.
2. Next in order both of antiquity and importance are the so-called Ammonian Sections. It seems probable that the divisions, as they stand at present, are not to be attributed to Ammonius of Alexandria (third century), from whom they take their name; but that they are to

be assigned to Eusebius of Cæsarea (fourth century), in connexion with whose useful and ingenious system of Canons they are most known.

Ammonius' idea was to form a harmony of the four Gospels, taking that of S. Matthew for the basis, and arranging the others in parallel columns with it, where the accounts coincided. Thus of course the thread of narrative of the other three was broken. Eusebius' intention seems to have been slightly different from this. He worked out a system for indicating the parallel passages between the Gospels, without destroying the sequence of any of them. A very slight examination of the Canons will shew that by parallel passages (*τὰ παραπλήσια*) Eusebius means *passages which are illustrative of one another*, and not passages which give accounts of the same events: e. g. the Miraculous Draught of Fishes after the Resurrection (S. John xxi. 1–6) is compared with the similar miracle at the beginning of our Lord's Ministry (S. Luke v. 4–7) (see Canon IX). The object aimed at, in short, is rather that of our marginal references[c] than a harmony properly so called.

The length of the Ammonian Sections depends, not on the sense, but upon the verbal coincidence or disagreement of one Evangelist with another. Each Gospel is divided on this principle, and its sections are numbered continuously from the beginning throughout. S. Matthew's Gospel contains 355; S. Mark's 233 down to c. xvi. 8; S. Luke's 342; and S. John's 232. Eusebius formed ten Tables (Canons): No. 1 contains a list of the places (seventy-one) in which all four Evangelists agree; Nos. 2, 3, and 4 contain lists of places in which three of them have something in common; Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8,

[c] The writer was indebted for the substance of this and the last paragraph to a report by a pupil of a lecture of Mr. Burgon's. The student may now see Mr. Burgon's views learnedly discussed in his book on The Last Twelve Verses of S. Mark, Appendix G.

and 9 contain lists of places in which two combine; and No. 10 a list of sixty-two passages peculiar to some one Evangelist. In the Greek MSS. of course the numbers are given in the Greek letters which denote the numerals in question. The Canons and Sections may be found in Wordsworth's and Tischendorf's editions of the Greek Testament, transcribed into the corresponding Arabic numerals.

The method of using them is as follows. Let us suppose that we want to find the parallel passages to some given passage; say S. Matt. xxii. 15, &c.: we find two numbers, 223 and 2, prefixed to the passage, one placed above the other; the upper number (223) is the number of the Section, the lower one (2) denotes the Table. We refer then to Table II, which we find contains passages common to S. Matthew, S. Mark, and S. Luke; and in a horizontal line with the No. 223 of S. Matthew's order we find the numbers of the parallel Sections in S. Mark and S. Luke, viz. 130 and 243.

The numbers indicating the Sections are found noted in the margin of by far the larger number of known MSS.; the numbers of the Canons being also added in most cases, though wanting in a few examples. The earliest instance of their occurrence is in Cod. ℵ, written by a contemporary hand with the scribe, if not by the scribe himself. Cod. B does not exhibit them.

3. The τίτλοι, sometimes called κεφάλαια, but improperly and inconveniently, inasmuch as this designation properly belongs to the Ammonian Sections, are another set of divisions of the Gospels very commonly found. This division is made according to the sense; but a τίτλος sometimes contains more than one subject. The name is apparently derived from the fact that each section has a short descriptive heading or designation, taken from the first or principal subject contained in it: e. g. the Sermon on the Mount, which forms the fifth of the

τίτλοι of S. Matthew's Gospel, is headed περὶ τῶν μακαρισμῶν. These headings are noted sometimes in the margin, sometimes at the head or foot of the page, or both together; and a list of them is generally prefixed to each book. They may be seen in Dr. Tregelles' edition of the Greek Testament. This division was perhaps made for the sake of convenience in public reading. No trace of it is found in Codd. ℵ or B.

II. There are also several modes of dividing the ACTS and EPISTLES.

1. A continuation of the old system above mentioned (p. 28) is found in Cod. B. It presents, in respect of S. Paul's Epistles, two interesting peculiarities: viz. (1) The Epistles of S. Paul are numbered continuously throughout, as if they formed but one book. (2) Whoever invented this division placed the Epistle to the Hebrews (as is shown by the numbers of the Sections in the margin) between the Epistles to the Galatians and Ephesians. Though in Cod. B itself the Epistle in question stands next after 2 Thess., yet the numbering of its Sections runs on continuously from the Epistle to the Galatians. The last Section of the Epistle to the Galatians is numbered 58; the first of the Epistle to the Hebrews is 59; while the first of the Epistle to the Ephesians is 70. The end of the Epistle to the Hebrews is lost; but there can be no reasonable doubt that the numbering of the Sections from it to the Epistle to the Ephesians would be consecutive.

2. Another system, later than the last, is also found in Cod. B. In the Acts, the Sections are shorter, and therefore more numerous; in the Epistles the opposite is the case. In this system the Pauline, as well as the Catholic Epistles, are divided independently. The first forty-two of the Sections in the Acts of the Apostles are noted in

the margin of Cod. ℵ by a hand almost as old as the original scribe; but with some want of care apparently, since there are five slight omissions and variations.

3. The κεφάλαια, commonly attributed to Euthalius, analogous to the τίτλοι of the Gospels, and accompanied like them by short headings or summaries of contents. Though often attributed to Euthalius, they were probably only introduced into common use by him.

4. Another division of the Acts and Pauline Epistles into ἀναγνώσεις or ἀναγνώσματα (lessons), also attributed to Euthalius.

III. The APOCALYPSE was divided at the end of the fifth century by Andreas, Archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, into twenty-four λόγοι, each λόγος being subdivided into three κεφάλαια.

Important evidence is sometimes gained from attending to the presence or absence of such extra-textual marks as these. For instance, the peculiarity in the Vatican numbering of the Sections of the Epistles noticed above, gives proof of a valuable and unconscious kind that the Epistle to the Hebrews was looked upon in very early times as being certainly by S. Paul. Again, the passage S. Mark xvi. 9–20 appears to have had no place assigned to it *by Eusebius* among his ('Ammonian') Sections; which would show that he at all events did not consider the passage part of the sacred text. On the other hand, in two passages, viz. S. Luke xxii. 43, 44, where the sum of the evidence is decidedly in favour of retaining the disputed clause, and S. Mark xv. 28, where the evidence is for rejection, the testimony of the Sections and Canons of Eusebius is in favour of both. In the first case, the clause has a special number, and is placed in the tenth Canon, which contains passages peculiar to the several Gospels; in the second case, the clause, likewise specially numbered, is assigned to the eighth Canon, which contains passages common to S. Mark and S. Luke.

§ 4. *An Account of Codd.* ℵ *and* B.

The reader should consult Mr. Scrivener's Introduction, or some other such authority, for an account of the chief MSS. quoted in critical editions of the New Testament. We will however, as an illustration of many points of criticism, proceed to give a somewhat detailed account of the two great manuscripts ℵ and B. Our authorities are chiefly Mr. Scrivener's collation of the Cod. Sinait., published with a Critical Introduction in 1864, and the Prolegomena to Tischendorf's smaller editions of these manuscripts.

(i) *Codex Sinaïticus* (ℵ).

In 1844, Tischendorf, travelling under the patronage of Frederick Augustus, King of Saxony, and being at the Monastery of S. Catherine, Mount Sinai, saw some vellum leaves of a manuscript, apparently very ancient, in a basketful of papers intended for the stove. He picked out forty-three leaves, which he obtained for the asking. They contained portions of the Septuagint version, viz. parts of 1 Chron. and Jeremiah, with the whole of Nehemiah and Esther. The monks however, having been informed that they belonged to a MS. of probably the fourth century, concealed the remainder of the MS., and Tischendorf could get nothing more from them for that time. These forty-three leaves he brought to Europe, and published with the title of Codex Friderico-Augustanus.

He was again at S. Catherine's in 1853, but could gain no further tidings of the MS. But in 1859 he went for the third time to the East under the patronage of the Emperor of Russia; and one day, being once more at the Convent, the steward showed him as a curiosity a MS. which he had long kept in his cell. It turned out to be the missing treasure,

which he was now allowed to examine at leisure, and which he found to contain, besides a great deal of the Old Testament, the whole of the New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas entire, of which the first four and a half chapters had been hitherto known in a Latin translation only, and a large fragment of the Shepherd of Hermas in the original Greek, which was before extant as a whole only in the Latin. He soon recognized its immense value; and, after studying it for a while at Cairo, he suggested to the community that they should present it to the Emperor of Russia, the great patron of the Greek Church. It is now at Petersburg.

The manuscript is written on very fine vellum. The size of the pages, notwithstanding mutilation by the binders, is still $13\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{7}{8}$ inches. The sheets, forming only two leaves each, and each requiring the skin of a single animal, are arranged in sets, or quires, of four (*quaterniones*). Now this fact is interesting because Eusebius was ordered by the Emperor Constantine (A.D. 331) to procure fifty copies of the Scriptures, handsomely got up and well written, for the churches in his new city of Constantinople. Eusebius[d] relates that this was done, and that these fifty copies had their sheets arranged in *terniones* and *quaterniones*. It has been suggested, with some show of plausibility, that the Cod. Sinait. is one of these very fifty copies. We shall see, by and bye, that Cod. B could not have been one of them.

The text on each page is arranged in *four* columns. This is supposed to be in imitation of the papyrus rolls, and is an unique arrangement so far as we know. Cod. B has three columns on a page.

The writing is in plain, somewhat square, uncials; without spaces between the words, or breathings (except in one

[d] Vit. Const. lib. iv. c. 36, 37.

place, Gal. v. 21), or accents, or iota *post-* or *sub*-script: there are very few marks of punctuation, but part of a line is often left blank at the end of a sentence.

It must have been copied line for line from some other MS., since omissions of exactly the number of letters that would complete a line are found, and that in two ways: viz. sometimes as if a line were dropped accidentally, and sometimes as if the eye of the scribe wandered from the middle of one line to the middle of the next line below. Instances of the error *homoioteleuton* are numerous; 115 occurring in the New Testament portion alone.

Tischendorf thinks that four scribes were engaged altogether on the manuscript, but that two only of these executed any portion of the New Testament. One of these uses a particular mark in the margin (>) to indicate quotations from the Old Testament: this is a little fact the importance of noticing which will appear by and bye.

The same critic assigns the numerous corrections, from those by the original scribes themselves down to three made by some hand in the twelfth century, to as many as twelve correctors; and thinks that the scribe who used the sign (>), mentioned in the last paragraph, performed the office of διορθωτής. In the eighth century the ink had become so faded that it was necessary to retrace the whole of the writing throughout the manuscript.

It has been already mentioned that the division into τίτλοι is wanting; but that the Ammonian Sections are marked; and that in the Acts there is a division which is found besides only in Cod. B.

The passage S. Mark xvi. 9–20 is wanting; and the scribe appears to be conscious of no omission; for, according to his custom when beginning a new book, he begins S. Luke's Gospel at the top of the next column. In Eph. i. 1, the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ are wanting, *prima manu*, being added by a

much later hand. The episode S. John vii. 53—viii. 11 is wanting, no gap or sign of omission being made by the scribe. The Epistles of S. Paul precede the Acts, a peculiarity observed only in four other MSS., and those cursives. The Epistle to the Hebrews has the position usual in the oldest MSS., viz. after 2 Thess. and before the Pastoral Epistles.

The arguments for determining its date are such as follow:—

1. The beauty of the vellum.
2. The shape of the letters.
3. Absence of punctuation.
4. Absence of initial letters larger than the rest.
5. Arrangement of four columns on a page.
6. The extreme simplicity of the titles of the books, which exceeds that of all other known MSS.: e. g. κατα Μαθθαιον, without εὐαγγελιον; πραξεις, without ἀποστολων; προς Ρωμαιους, without ἐπιστολη.
7. The fact above mentioned of the ink having so faded by the eighth century that the whole MS. had to be inked over again.

All these points are arguments for great antiquity.

8. But further, the absence of the τίτλοι, which came into general use in the fifth century; and
9. The presence of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas, written exactly in the same way as the rest of the book, would lead us to place it at least as early as the fourth century; for these two books belong to the so-called ἀντιλεγόμενα (*disputed* books), which were not definitely excluded from the Canon, but were read publicly, until towards the close of the fourth century.
10. Yet, on the other hand, the presence of the Eusebian Canons will not allow it to be dated earlier than about the middle of that century.

The student should take notice that every one of these arguments is independent of any *internal* considerations of the character of the text, peculiar readings, and so forth.

(ii) *Codex Vaticanus* (B). Vat. 1209.

A special interest has been attached to the great Vatican manuscript, apart from its high value and antiquity, owing to the difficulty which the jealousy of the Papal government has always thrown in the way of strangers, however competent, who wished to examine it.

The MS. appears to have been in the Vatican Library almost from the establishment of that library by Pope Nicholas V (d. 1455); but it is first distinctly heard of in the correspondence of Sepulveda with Erasmus in 1534.

The first regular collation of it was made by Bartolocci, then librarian, in 1669; but was not used by any one before Scholz (1820–1852), and Muralt (1844). The second and third collations, known as Bentley's, were made at his request by Mico and Rulotta, two Roman Abbati, circ. 1720–1730. The next is that of Birch of Copenhagen (1780–1790). All these were more or less inaccurate. After this there was no pretence of a regular collation. Hug saw and commented on the MS. when it was at Paris in 1810, but did not collate it. Tischendorf in 1842, Dr. Tregelles in 1845–6, Dean Alford and Mr. Burgon in 1861, Mr. Cure in 1862, all had glimpses of it, and examined certain readings. The editions of Cardinal Mai and Vercellone had appeared in 1858–9; and, inaccurate as they were, added much to our knowledge. It is no small benefit that they gave occasion for the masterly preface of Professors Kuenen and Cobet (of Leyden) in their transcript of the codex [e].

[e] Novum Testamentum ad fidem Codicis Vaticani ediderunt A. Kuenen Theol. in Acad. Lugduno-Batava Prof. et C. G Cobet, Litt. Human. in Acad. Lugduno-Batava Prof. 1860.

Tischendorf had an opportunity of making a fuller examination of it in 1866. At first he had obtained leave to collate the codex, but not to publish a facsimile edition, as he wished. However, after he had been at work on it for ten days at the rate of three hours a day, which was all the time allowed, his earnestness aroused jealousy, and further access was refused him. Upon further application, and by the assistance of Signor Vercellone, he was at last allowed to consult the MS. again for all doubtful readings, but not thoroughly to collate it: and, making the best use he could of this opportunity, in forty-two hours' work, *including the thirty hours already mentioned*, he collated fully the first three Gospels, copied in facsimile about twenty pages, and collated all doubtful passages through the New Testament. From this examination he was able to form some conclusions on various palæographic details.

Since that time a facsimile edition, worked from the types which Tischendorf had had cast at Leipsic for his edition of the Sinaitic MS., has issued from the Roman press. The writing of the two MSS. is so nearly alike that this is a fair representation. This edition, though not absolutely accurate, supplies much additional help: and on the whole, from this, together with Tischendorf's labours and the previous collations, we have a tolerably complete knowledge of all the readings of this important MS., and of its history, so far as a MS. can be made to tell its own history.

It is written on very fine thin vellum, in uncial characters at once bold and delicate, on the whole resembling those of ℵ very closely, but rather smaller. The size of the pages too is less than in that manuscript, but they are of very similar proportions. The writing is arranged in three columns to a page; the initial letters are no larger than the rest; the ink is of a reddish-brown colour. The accents and breathings, which appear throughout the volume, have

been added by a later hand than the original scribe; but there are some particular marks due to him, e. g. the marks of quotation (> >), a small line interposed at the beginning of a section, the apostrophus ('), and a punctuation. The sheets are arranged in quires of five (*quiniones*), not in *terniones* or *quaterniones*; whence it appears that Cod. B cannot be one of Constantine's fifty, spoken of above (see p. 34). The writing has been traced over afresh by a later hand throughout the MS., except where some letters are purposely passed over as erroneous. This, as in the case of Cod. ℵ, would only have been done when the original ink had faded from age.

As to the contents of the codex, the latter part of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Apocalypse, are wanting. This however is due simply to mutilation. The MS. breaks off at Heb. ix. 14 in the middle of the word καθαριεῖ. The passage S. John vii. 53–viii. 11 is omitted without any gap or sign of omission. The words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (Eph. i. 1) are wanting, just as in Cod. ℵ. The conclusion of S. Mark's Gospel is omitted; but the scribe, contrary to his usual custom, leaves a whole column blank before the commencement of the next book, as if aware of an omission. This may be construed to mean that a conclusion to the Gospel was known at the time when the manuscript was written, but that the scribe thought there was insufficient authority for it.

We have already spoken of the information given by the numbering of the sections in the Epistles (see p. 31); and of the peculiar division of the Gospels which this MS. possesses in place of the τίτλοι and Ammonian Sections (see p. 28).

There appear to have been only three correctors whose readings are of any importance:—

1. The original scribe made corrections of some slips in the course of transcription, besides adding, probably from

the copy before him, some various readings in the margin, distinguished by a peculiar mark (ς).

2. The διορθωτής introduced some readings from an apparently independent exemplar.

3. A third hand, when the writing had faded from age, inked over the whole, added the accents and breathings, and corrected it throughout by a copy of his own time. That the accents are due to this corrector is evident from the fact that where he omitted to ink over the letters or syllables, as he frequently did by way of correction, the accents are not inserted. He imitates for the most part the writing of the original where he adds anything; yet in some places, where he was pressed for room, he uses forms of letters and abbreviations that belong to the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is certain that the corrector who uses these abbreviations is the person who retraced the faded writing, because occasionally an abbreviation occurs in a correction *along with an omission to ink over some of the letters:* e. g. S. Matt. xvi. 19, for δωσω σοι ταϲ κλειδαϲ (the original reading) he wishes to substitute the reading found in the Textus Receptus, και δωσω σοι ταϲ κλειϲ. He effects this by inserting the abbreviation ⸗ before δωσω, omitting to ink over the syllable -δαϲ, and writing ϲ in the late cursive form, instead of the uncial form, above it. Tischendorf considers the text from which he took his corrections to be destitute of all the characteristics of very ancient codices.

There are a few unimportant additions by other hands, e. g.—

The subscriptions to S. Paul's Epistles are in uncial writing of about the sixth century.

The coloured initial letters belong apparently to the tenth or eleventh centuries.

There are sundry marginal notes, e. g. ἀρχη, τέλος, ὑπερβα..., &c., which perhaps indicate that the MS. was at some time used for public reading.

Many of the arguments for the age of this MS. are the same, or nearly so, as those for the age of the Cod. Sinaiticus. It is assigned without hesitation to the fourth century.

The next point which claims our attention however, and which is extremely interesting if true, is the connection which Tischendorf believes he has discovered between these two great MSS. It must be confessed that he makes out a strong case: though the force of some of the arguments will be best appreciated by those who have an opportunity of working carefully through them in detail; based as they are in part upon a multitude of minute points, of which only an instance or two can be given here by way of specimens.

Certain general points of resemblance between these MSS. have been already noticed incidentally; but a minute inspection brings others to light.

It has been asserted that the first scribe of B used no punctuation. This seems to be a mistake. It is true that the points have often faded, so as to be visible only to practised eyes: but in some places within a space may be seen the points of the first scribe side by side with those of the restorer, proving the fact. He was however irregular in his system, sometimes using a space of about one letter's breadth or less, sometimes a dot without a space, sometimes both, sometimes neither. The use of a space in the middle of a line without a dot is a noticeable peculiarity of his; so is the use of a double point, like our colon (:), at the end of a book. Now here an interesting question arises. It is shown that four hands were engaged in transcribing Cod. ℵ: of whom one, denominated D by Tischendorf,

executed six sheets of the New Testament, the Books of Judith, Tobit, and part of 1 Maccabees; besides adding the inscriptions and subscriptions to the books, and the titles of the pages; and correcting the work of his associates. Now, besides the general resemblance of Cod. B to Cod. ℵ above alluded to, we find that Cod. B bears a far more striking resemblance to those parts of Cod. ℵ which were executed by the scribe in question, than to the rest. For instance, (1) these particular parts of Cod. ℵ have these two peculiarities in punctuation. (2) They have also a very peculiar form of the letter Ξ. (3) There are some arbitrary signs and arabesques in Cod. B in vermilion paint, which resemble one at the end of S. Mark's Gospel in Cod. ℵ written by the scribe D, and one at the end of the Apocalypse, of which D wrote the beginning. (4) There is great similarity in the use of certain contractions. (5) There are similar 'itacisms,' e. g. generally Cod. ℵ has ι for ει, except in D's portion, where the opposite is the case: Cod. B has ει for ι constantly. Again, Cod. ℵ has ἰωαννης, except in D's portion, where we find ἰωανης; and in one place just after D's portion is finished, where his fellow-scribe writes ἰωανης once, and then falls back into the other spelling: Cod. B has ἰωανης throughout. These are samples of arguments which, taken together, make it seem not unlikely that the Sinaitic scribe D was also the transcriber of Cod. B. If this be so, a very interesting relation would be established between the two MSS.; and one not only interesting but important. For in the first place they are evidently transcribed from different originals, since their texts differ in many places: if therefore it be true that they both were written in the fourth century, their agreement carries us back to a text of still higher antiquity. But this is not all. Cod. ℵ was corrected throughout by two correctors, coeval with the original scribe, and using different exemplars: it really therefore supplies us with the

evidence of three MSS., all older than itself, and not improbably considerably older; for of course an old and standard copy would be probably used, in preference to one more recent, for purposes of correction. And Cod. B, as stated before (p. 14), has been corrected throughout by one contemporary hand, and therefore supplies us with the evidence of two older MSS. than itself. The two codices together therefore supply us with the evidence of five MSS. of earlier date than the middle of the fourth century; whose convergence of course carries us back to a text of very early date.

CHAPTER IV.

ON VERSIONS, AND THE CHIEF VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

§ 1. *On the nature and value of the evidence given by Versions.*

By a *Version* is meant, as has been already said, a translation into some other language than the original. In the case of the New Testament the Greek text has undergone this process of translation sooner or later into the language of almost every people that has been Christianized: but not all of these versions are of critical value. A version like our English version, for instance, may be very admirable, and for the time when it was made a very masterpiece of rendering, and yet possess no value for a critic of the Greek text.

The older versions have been transmitted to us in manuscripts, just as the Greek original has been. In some languages we possess large numbers, very diverse in age and character and value; in others the total number is very scanty. These texts are liable to similar casualties of transmission as the Greek text; but the process of deterioration could scarcely ever affect documents in different languages, in the same passages, in precisely the same way. Hence if an ancient version accords with the early Greek MSS. in some particular reading, we have at least an important proof of the early prevalence of that reading. If a second version support the reading in question, the weight of evidence in its favour becomes enormously greater.

On such points as the omission of words and clauses, versions give as clear evidence as the original Greek MSS. do; and it is quite possible that even where they are not precisely exact in their renderings they may be far from misleading; nay, they *may* even indicate the true reading, since it may be evident how the error arose: e. g. when in the Æthiopic version there is found (1 Cor. xii. 28) 'an ear,' it is clear that the translator, not very well acquainted with Greek, confused οὖς with οὗς; and from the very impossibility of his translation we infer that he must have read ΟΥϹ. There are other mistranslations, which would not long mislead the critic, in the same version: e. g. in S. Matt. iv. 13, ὁρίοις seems to be supposed to be connected with ὄρος; and in Rom. vii. 11, ἐξεπάτησε seems to have been read for ἐξηπάτησε. So in our English version we find (Heb. x. 23), 'Let us hold fast the profession of our faith,' where there is not a single MS. authority for the word '*faith*'; but the compositor's eye in the first edition perhaps rested upon the word 'faithful' in the line immediately below; so it crept in accidentally, and has never been corrected. The true reading is *hope*.'

The earliest Latin versions were so literal that they even give evidence on the order of the words; the Greek order being retained even where it is not in accordance with the genius of the vernacular. Some Greek idioms too, such as a genitive absolute for the ablative, are retained.

It was long before the critical value of versions was appreciated. The study of them has been in general too subordinate to that of the Greek text, even where attention has been paid to them. But in some cases, and pre-eminently in the case of the Latin versions, there is a grand field for independent criticism, which is only now beginning to be systematically explored.

In giving a short account of all the versions which

have a critical value, it is convenient to take the Latin versions first; because some points in their early history are known for certain, which are matters of conjecture, though of conjecture little short of certainty, in the history of the Syriac, the next most important, versions. There is a special interest too for us in the Latin, because the Vulgate was for centuries the Bible of the West: our Reformers were trained upon it; and our Prayer-book version of the Psalms is founded upon S. Jerome's 'Gallican' Psalter.

§ 2. *The Latin Versions.*

At the time of our Saviour Greek was the language most widely spread through the world. Every educated Roman spoke it freely. It was current[a] in the civilized East, at Rome itself, and in Roman Europe as far west as Gaul. Greek was in fact the common language of communication, the French of that period. Within the range therefore of refined Roman society, even if Christianity had spread more widely than it appears to have done at first among the upper classes, the want of a vernacular translation of the Scriptures would hardly have been felt; and it was not felt in the Roman Church as it actually existed, with at all events a very large Greek element among its members. In Africa, not in Italy, the first Latin version was formed. This is the *Vetus Latina*, with its strange and uncouth latinity. We know nothing of its origin; but in Tertullian's writings, and in the Latin translation of Irenæus, we see that it is in full possession of the field, and therefore must be at least as old as the middle of the second century. By the time of S. Augustine it had thoroughly established itself. It appears to have contained all the books included in our Canon, except the

[a] See Roberts's Discussions on the New Testament, and Westcott on the Canon of the New Test., pp. 215, 216; and Milman, Hist. Latin Christianity, vol. i. pp. 25–35 (fourth ed.).

Epistle to the Hebrews, with those of S. James and 2 S. Peter. The Gospels are placed in the order S. Matthew, S. John, S. Luke, and S. Mark. The best codices of it are—

Name of Codex.	Century.	Denominated by Tischendorf.
Cod. Vercellensis ...	iv.	... *a*
„ Veronensis ...	iv. or v.	... *b*
„ Colbertinus ...	xi.	... *c*
„ Claromontanus ...	iv. or v.	... *h*
„ Vindobonensis ...	v. or vi.	... *i*
„ Bobbiensis ...	iv. or v.	... *k*
„ Mai's Speculum ...	vi.	... *m*

The roughness of the phraseology of this African version was apparently displeasing to the inhabitants of North Italy, where it obtained a footing; and in the fourth century a recension was made, which is clearer and more correct; but it already shows marks that characterize a later text. It presents the text in an intermediate state between that of the earliest and that of the late Greek MSS. This is the version known as *Itala*. The best codex is Cod. Brixianus (*f*) (sixth century).

There seem to be grounds for believing that Britain can lay claim to a recension, independent of, but not anterior to, S. Jerome's revision; of which Scotland, Ireland, North England, and Wales, enjoyed the fruit[b]. There was also perhaps a Gallican recension, nearly allied to the British in its readings: but there is much yet to be done in elucidating these and similar points.

By the end of the fourth century there was so much variation in the existing texts, that a formal revision seemed necessary; and S. Jerome was requested by Pope Damasus

[b] For some interesting notices, see Haddan and Stubbs's Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland, vol. i. App. G, pp. 170–174.

to undertake the task. The greater part of S. Jerome's critical labours were spent upon the Old Testament; it is therefore beyond the scope of the present work to say much about them. In the course of these labours his views on several points connected with revision, and among others on the amount of change necessary to be introduced, underwent considerable modification. The emendation of the New Testament occupied his attention first, and is not therefore the result of his most mature judgment. In order to avoid offending the prejudices of persons accustomed to an established phraseology he made as few alterations as possible; only correcting obvious errors, and somewhat improving the latinity. The traces of his work are most frequent in the Gospels, which indeed, from being the most used part of the New Testament, were most often transcribed, and had therefore suffered most deterioration. The rest of the New Testament he only revised cursorily.

Such a work as the revision of an established Bible is sure not to be popular. Two centuries elapsed before S. Jerome's revision came generally into use. Meanwhile the old copies of the Vetus Latina and its variations were current, the text still suffering gradually in the process of transcription. The new Vulgate of S. Jerome was not free from the same chances; and the consequence was again so much uncertainty, that in the eighth century further revision was necessary. This was attempted by Alcuin at Charlemagne's desire. He seems to have used good Latin texts for his work, but without having any recourse to Greek MSS. During several succeeding centuries there were more isolated attempts at revision; and lists of corrections were drawn up at different times. The last authoritative revisions were that of Sixtus V, published in 1590; and the second, which was put forth two years later, rendered necessary by the arbitrary corrections introduced into

the former Sixtine edition by that Pope himself, and which is known as the Clementine Vulgate, from having been issued under Pope Clement VIII. This last is the modern 'authorized' Vulgate. It is therefore a somewhat composite work in respect of its readings, but is substantially S. Jerome's revision.

For our present purpose we have only to do with the earlier stages of this version. From what has been said it will be seen that the critical evidence of the Latin versions is twofold: viz. (1) the *Corrections of S. Jerome*, which being of the fourth century give us an independent witness of nearly the same age as our oldest existing Greek MSS.; (2) the readings of the *Vetus Latina*, which witness to a still earlier text, not indeed free from corruption, but valuable from its antiquity, and because (as has been already pointed out) the very corruptions follow different courses from those of the Greek codices, and therefore can often be made to give useful information.

From these facts such critical principles as the following may be deduced.

1. If the *Vetus Latina* and the *Vulgate*[c] do not verbally accord, but support the same Greek reading, their testimony is strongly corroborative.
2. If the *Vetus Latina* and *Vulgate* accord verbally, their testimony is not necessarily that of two distinct witnesses, and therefore is not necessarily corroborative. For there are not a few places where S. Jerome left errors untouched.
3. Any reading opposed to the combined testimony of our oldest *Greek MSS.* and the *Vulgate* must have arisen

[c] Where the name 'Vulgate' is used simply thus, without any further designation, it should be understood that S. Jerome's revision of the Latin text is intended.

subsequently to the fourth century; or at least have been confined within a very narrow range previously. (See Smith's Dict. of Bible, vol. iii. p. 1714.)

4. The *Vetus Latina* and S. Jerome's Vulgate often combine in a reading with other ancient witnesses against the mass of later evidence; and that, where the reading has been altered in the later Latin texts to suit the later Greek MSS. On the other hand, where the two combine in giving a reading that is certainly erroneous, the Eastern witnesses commonly desert them. This principle is illustrated by the example given at p. 62. (Smith's Dict. as before, p. 1715, § 38.)

The two most accurate codices of S. Jerome's Vulgate are *Cod. Amiatinus* and *Cod. Fuldensis*. The text of the former is reprinted in Dr. Tregelles' edition of the Greek Testament; the latter in Lachmann's larger edition. Both are of the sixth century.

[The student should read carefully the article 'Vulgate' in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, by Professor Westcott, the foremost English scholar in this branch of learning.]

§ 3. *The Syriac Versions.*

Our distinct knowledge of the existence of early Latin versions prior to S. Jerome's revision in the fourth century, is of the highest importance: for the general aspect and textual characteristics of two of the Syriac versions, the Curetonian and the Peshito, so closely resemble those of the *Vetus Latina* and *Vulgate* respectively, that the suggestion is very obvious that they bear a similar mutual relation to each other; though we de not know this as a historical fact.

All that we possess of the version called the Curetonian Syriac is contained in a single manuscript of the fifth century,

brought by Archdeacon Tattam in 1842 from one of the Nitrian monasteries. It consists of fragments of the four Gospels. It takes its name from having been brought into notice by Dr. Cureton, who observed that its text differed from that of the ordinary Peshito, and published it in 1858. The text is ruder than that of the Peshito, and has many interpolations, sometimes in common with Cod. D, sometimes unsupported by other authority; but in many characteristic readings it is in remarkable agreement with the oldest witnesses.

The Peshito, which, if the reasoning in a future chapter (see pp. 70–78) is to be trusted, may be called the Syriac Vulgate, appears, from its containing neither the disputed Catholic Epistles[d] nor the Apocalypse, to belong to a period anterior to the fourth century, when those Epistles were formally received into the Canon. The same is shown by the fact that all the sects into which the Syrian Church was separated in the fourth century alike use it. It also exhibits readings of undoubtedly high antiquity. Seeing that no other Syriac text with any claim to antiquity was known to exist until so recently, there is no wonder that the idea should have gained currency that this is the Syriac version to which Eusebius refers as existing in the second century (Eus. H. E. iv. 22). But when a close examination shows undoubted signs of assimilation to a later type of text, analogous to those displayed in the Cod. Brixianus of the Latin MSS., and such as began to be current about the fourth century, the suggestion is a natural one that the Peshito is a recension of an older text, of which we have probably a specimen in the Curetonian Syriac. As long ago as 1761 it had been asserted by Dr. Gloucester Ridley, that the Peshito, as now known, was the gradually formed product of several successive revisions. This hypothesis was repeated by

[d] i.e. 2 S. Peter, 2 and 3 S. John, and S. Jude.

Griesbach. And now, since the discovery of the Curetonian, almost all critics of note have expressed their belief that in that version we have a representative of an earlier state of the text.

The Curetonian and the Peshito are not the only Syriac versions. A version was made at Hierapolis in Eastern Syria (A.D. 508) by Polycarp, a Chorepiscopus, at the instance of Philoxenus, the Bishop of Hierapolis, from whom it has received the name by which it is commonly known, the Philoxenian. Some quotations in Syrian writers are all that remain to us of this version in its original state, unless perhaps one MS. of the Gospels at Florence (see Westcott on the Canon, p. 210 n.), and one MS. in the Bodleian, containing the Acts and all seven of the Catholic Epistles (see Horne and Tregelles' Introd. pp. 278, 279), exhibit it.

Enough is not known of the subject to speak with certainty; but it is asserted that the text of these two MSS. differs from that of the version of which we have next to speak, just as an unrevised text would differ from a revised text; that is to say, they are said to have a close *general* resemblance to this version, but to differ from it just in those parts where their text might be thought capable of improvement.

The version which has come down to us, sometimes cited as the Philoxenian, but properly the *Harclean*, is a revision of the Philoxenian properly so called, just mentioned. This revision was made at Alexandria (A.D. 616) by Thomas of Harkel, also Bishop of Hierapolis. There are several codices of the Gospels, but only one codex containing other portions of the New Testament is known to exist. This one is in New College Library, Oxford. It is noticeable because it includes all the seven Catholic Epistles; but, as it is mutilated at the end, it is impossible to say whether it ever contained

the Apocalypse. The characteristic feature of this version is its slavish adherence to the Greek: word stands over against word, and particle for particle, even to the utter destruction of the Syriac idiom; so that it is difficult to conceive that it was ever intended for general use. At the same time this very fact gives it a special critical value; for it becomes an admirable witness to the state of the current Greek text at the time when it was made (seventh century); and it shows that this text had now undergone a considerable change in its character. There is another point of great value to be remarked, namely, that there are *various readings* from one, two, and sometimes three, Greek MSS. added in the margin; the very Greek words being occasionally given. These readings are clearly taken from texts of a much earlier type. Hence the Harclean *text* and *margin* are always cited separately. The text of the Acts has interpolations resembling those of Cod. D. Neither the Peshito nor the Harclean contain the passage S. John vii. 53—viii. 11. Ridley's Cod. Barsalibæi has the passage, but it is clearly an addition by a later hand. The Curetonian MS. is defective at that part.

The so-called *Jerusalem-Syriac* is the only other Syriac version that is cited in critical editions. It is found in one Lectionary in the Vatican Library, which, according to a subscription attached to it, was written at Antioch in 1031 A.D. According to Tischendorf, its text resembles that of the better uncials more nearly than the Peshito does: but the style seems to be somewhat rude and peculiar, and Tregelles believes it to be a mere translation of a Greek Evangelistarium, and not an independent version. It contains the passage S. John vii. 53–viii. 11 in a form different from that of the ordinary text, and resembling that of Cod. D.

Besides these there is the *Karkaphensian* version, a dialectic variety of Syriac. It is known only through one

MS. in the Vatican, containing the same Canon as the Peshito, which it is also said to resemble on the whole in its text.

§ 4. *The Egyptian Versions.*

There are three versions now in existence in different Egyptian dialects; the *Thebaic* (or Sahidic), in the dialect of Upper Egypt; the *Memphitic* (or Coptic), in the dialect of Lower Egypt; and the *Basmuric*, the locality of which is uncertain. The two first only have an independent critical value. The origin of neither of them is sufficiently well known, nor are the materials in a thoroughly satisfactory state as yet; a critical knowledge of these dialects being very rare. Still, the value, even of our partial information, is very great, and gives additional evidence as to the text current in the early centuries. The period when they were made admits of being determined with fair probability. We know that by the time of Diocletian's persecution (303–313 A.D.) the native Christians in the Thebaid were very numerous (see Euseb. H. E. viii. 9); and it is only probable they would have had a version of the Scriptures in the vernacular. The character of the text of the Thebaic (which is the real criterion), judged by tests that will be explained further on, agrees very well with this probability: that is to say, it presents features which might well belong to a version made in the second century. Though often Alexandrine, it has many of the peculiarities of the *Vetus Latina*. The Memphitic on the other hand exhibits a third-century Alexandrine text, and is more polished in style. This is the version which the Copts (Egyptian Christians) still use as their authorized version in their public worship, notwithstanding that Arabic has become the vernacular language. Here again the parallel of the *Vetus Latina* and the *Vulgate* sug-

gests itself; and it is a fair subject for inquiry whether the same process of revision of an earlier rough translation, with the help of a collation of the Greek text current at the time, may not be traced. On the whole, the Memphitic is assigned to a period probably not later than the close of the third century; while the Thebaic may date from the end of the second century. We possess MSS. of the fifth century, if not earlier.

The third version, the Basmuric, appears to be only a dialectical version of the Thebaic. It has some use however, from containing a small portion of the New Testament not found among the fragments of which the Thebaic, as now extant, consists.

§ 5. *The Gothic Version.*

The Gothic version was made by Ulfilas, who was bishop of the Goths 348–388 A. D. It is therefore undoubtedly of the fourth century. It must have been extensively circulated, since traces of its use both by Eastern and Western Goths have been found in Italy and Spain. That it was translated from Greek manuscripts is certain, says Tregelles, from the manner in which the Greek constructions and the forms of compound words are imitated. As to the character of the text, Mr. Scrivener's judgment is that it approaches nearer to the received text than the Egyptian versions do; which same fact Tregelles describes when he declares it to be what he terms 'the transition-text' of the fourth century, such as is found in the Cod. Brixianus of the revised Itala. Seven or eight codices are known, containing parts of all the books of the New Testament, except the Acts, Epistle to the Hebrews, Catholic Epistles, and Apocalypse. The order of the Gospels is the same as that which has been stated above to be that of the *Vetus Latina* (p. 47), and which

is also found in Cod. D. The chief MS. of it is the celebrated *Codex Argenteus* at Upsala, inscribed in silver letters, with gold initials, on purple vellum.

§ 6. *The Æthiopic Version.*

The Æthiopic version has not yet been edited with critical care. We do not know its date: but we do know that Christianity was introduced into Æthiopia in the fourth century. It might therefore date from about that time. The curious mistranslations that occur in it (see p. 45) shew that it was made from the Greek, but evidently not by persons to whom Greek was familiar. The Gospels and Epistles seem to have been the work of different hands; and the idea of a revision of the text by different Greek MSS. from those from which it was first translated is said to be suggested in this case too by the phenomena which it presents: viz. by the mixture of the Byzantine with Alexandrine readings. An edition 'by native editors' was printed in Rome and published as early as 1548–9.

§ 7. *The Armenian Version.*

The history of the origin of the Armenian version is known. It was made from Greek MSS. about the middle of the fifth century. The materials in this department have been rendered accessible in a great measure by the labours of Dr. Rieu of the British Museum, who carefully collated the texts and translated the various readings for Dr. Tregelles. It has been said that this version was made from the Peshito; but it would seem that, though some readings have been introduced from this source, there is no sufficiently general characteristic resemblance to warrant this inference. Dr. Tregelles' verdict on the whole is that the readings of the Armenian MSS. differ so greatly, that they

must have been derived from a comparison of Greek MSS. of different ages; and that therefore in this case too a revision probably took place at some time or other.

These are the only versions that possess any considerable critical value. [For more detailed information the reader should consult the article 'Versions (Ancient)' in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible.]

CHAPTER V.

ON PATRISTIC QUOTATIONS.

THE materials in this, our third branch of evidence, are in a far less satisfactory state than in the case either of the Greek MSS., or of the Versions. This is chiefly owing to the fact that so little real critical care has been yet spent in editing the writings of the Fathers. Until this has been done it will be impossible to place implicit confidence in the alleged testimony of a Father to any particular reading, if it be inferred merely from the appearance of that reading in the common editions of his writings. It has happened not seldom that transcribers, doubtless believing they were doing a good work, have altered the words of a quotation in the work they were transcribing, to the more familiar reading of the commonly received text of their time. This will account for some of the instances where an author appears to quote the same passage of the New Testament with different readings in different parts of his writings; as is especially the case with a voluminous writer like S. Chrysostom.

That transcribers did thus alter the readings is abundantly proved in many instances by direct evidence; as when extracts are preserved from the patristic writings in some Catena or Commentary which gives the quotation in what we have otherwise reason to believe is the older form, while the

recently transcribed MSS. of their works present us with the reading which we find in the Textus Receptus. Sometimes again the embedded quotation, as it appears in the common editions, is so manifestly inconsistent with the context, as to make it clear that the author could never have given it thus.

An instance of this latter case is found in a comment of Eusebius on S. Matt. i. 24. The original reading of the Evangelist was *δειγματίσαι*, and the manifest drift of the comment is to account for his having used the simple verb, and not the compound *παραδειγματίσαι*. But the later reading is *παραδειγματίσαι*; and the transcriber of the comment, in a blundering attempt (apparently) to reconcile the comment with the reading which he was familiar with, has transposed the verb and its compound in such a way as to make absolute nonsense [a].

In respect of the readings *ὅς* and *θεός* (1 Tim. iii. 16) the citation from S. Chrysostom preserved in Cramer's Catena on the passage shows that *θεός* is an interpolation, though S. Chrysostom's authority has been quoted for the reading *θεός*: and that S. Cyril of Alexandria read *ὅς* is proved, not only by the context, but by an express marginal note in several of the MSS. (see Tregelles on the Printed Text of the New Testament, p. 227), viz. *ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Κύριλλος ἐν τῷ ιβ' κεφαλαίῳ τῶν σχολίων φησὶν ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί.*

[a] The comment runs as follows:—*εὖ γοῦν μοι καὶ τὸ μὴ θέλειν αὐτὴν δειγματίσαι εἰρῆσθαι δοκεῖ ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἔφησεν μὴ θέλειν αὐτὴν δειγματίσαι, ἀλλὰ 'μὴ παραδειγματίσαι θέλων'· πολλῆς οὔσης ἐν τούτοις διαφορᾶς· ὡς γὰρ οὐ ταυτὸν σημαίνει τὸ γράψαι καὶ τὸ παραγράψαι, καὶ τὸ λογίσασθαι καὶ τὸ παραλογίσασθαι, καὶ ψηφίσαι καὶ παραψηφίσαι, οὕτως οὔτε τὸ δειγματίσαι καὶ παραδειγματίσαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ παραδειγματίσαι τὴν ἐπὶ κακῷ πράξαντι πάντας φανέρωσίν τε καὶ διαβολὴν ὑποβάλλει νοεῖν· ὁ τοίνυν 'Ἰωσὴφ δίκαιος ὢν, καὶ μὴ θέλων αὐτὴν παραδειγματίσαι' τουτέστιν εἰς φανερὸν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀγαγεῖν, 'ἐβουλήθη λάθρα ἀπολῦσαι αὐτήν.'* Cramer's Catena, vol. i. p. 12.

By way of illustrating the extent of this field of evidence, it has been said that if every copy of the Greek Testament, manuscript and printed, had perished, and only the Patristic quotations remained, together with a copy of some one version to serve as an index whereby to arrange them, we should be able to reconstruct the whole. In the extant works of Origen alone nearly every verse of the New Testament is quoted: some of them several times.

These remarks apply to *verbatim* citations. But it often happens that the Patristic writers quote the New Testament writings in a less exact way, by interweaving the words with their own, and altering the structure of the sentences to suit their own. In the writings of the Apostolic Fathers almost all the quotations are thus introduced. Such quotations are free from the chance of variation just mentioned: on the other hand, they will only furnish aid to the textual critic where the sense of the passage may vary with the alteration, and not on such delicate questions as the insertion or omission of particles, choice between different tenses of the same verb, and so on. Evidence might be gained from them as to the existence of the passage in question in copies of the author's time: on the whole however, this looser kind of citation, together with the still more precarious class of *mere allusions*, is of more value in determining the contents of the Canon of Scripture, than in the problems set before the textual critic.

Most important of all is the help given where the writer recognises different readings of a passage, and expressly states that, while many MSS. have some particular reading or readings, the best and most accurate have another, which he gives. The existence of various readings was recognised distinctly as early as the time of Marcion [b], who was charged

[b] The date of Marcion's birth is unknown. He was settled at Rome and known as a heretical teacher, before A.D. 139, the date of the publi-

with corrupting the text of Scripture to suit his own views. The labours of Origen (186–254) and Eusebius (264–340) for the Greek text, and of S. Jerome (died 430[c]) for the Latin, were distinctly and avowedly critical. From Origen's writings we gather this important information, that '*the oldest MSS. and versions which we* (now) *have contain just the same variety of text as existed in the third century.*' (Horne and Tregelles' Introd. to N. T. p. 43.) Hence it is hardly too much to say that, with the exception of oral tradition, the weight of which on such questions would not be great, *our present materials for eliciting the true text are at least as full as those which were in Origen's possession.* This may well serve to give confidence in our labours.

The value of even the most definite Patristic citation is only corroborative. Standing by itself, any such citation might mean no more than that the writer found the passage in his own copy, or in those examined by him, in the form in which he quotes it. The moment however it is found to be supported by other good evidence, the writer's authority may become of immense importance. Perhaps the best illustration of what is meant will be found in the discussion of a reading, the determination of which turns chiefly upon the statement of S. Irenæus, a writer of the second century. The passage in question is S. Matt. i. 18; the point to be determined, is whether Ἰησοῦ should stand in the text before Χριστοῦ or not. It is found in the text of perhaps every existing Greek manuscript[d]: on the other hand, S. Irenæus

cation of Justin Martyr's First Apology. Nor is the time of his death more certain. Tillemont only says vaguely it was after A.D. 176. Mr. Clinton thinks he was alive as late as 194. See Smith's Dict. Biog., Art. 'Marcion.' Robertson's Ch. Hist. vol. i. pp. 43, 44.

[c] The date of S. Jerome's birth is equally uncertain; different years, ranging from 329 to 345, have been assigned.

[d] There seems a slight doubt about one MS., Cod. 71. Mr. Scrivener

expressly asserts that it should not be there, and gives a reason for his statement. His words are, as given by his Latin translator (for the Greek original does not exist), '*ceterum potuerat dicere Matthæus* Jesu vero generatio sic erat, *sed prævidens Spiritus S. depravatores, et præmuniens contra fraudulentiam eorum, per Matthæum ait* Christi autem generatio sic erat.' The question is not by any means to be so summarily disposed of as Mr. Scrivener represents (Introd. p. 420). In weighing the evidence on both sides, we must anticipate some statements, the reasons for which have not yet been given, but which we shall attempt to substantiate further on.

For the reading τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ there is no important evidence: it may therefore be at once dismissed.

For the reading Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ there are all existing Greek MSS. (except *possibly* No. 71, which, according to Tischendorf, reads Χριστοῦ; Cod. B, which has Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ; and *probably* D; for though the Greek text is wanting at this place, the Latin version, which is generally a slavish interpretation of the Greek, reads *Christi*). With them are the two Egyptian versions, the Peshito and Harclean Syriac, the Armenian and the Æthiopic; and of Patristic writers Origen, Eusebius, and others of later date.

On the other side, for the reading Χριστοῦ are all the Latin versions, including the Vetus Latina; the Curetonian Syriac; and S. Irenæus expressly, as we have seen, with later Fathers.

At first sight, no doubt, there seems an overwhelming array of evidence for the reading Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ: but our estimate of it will probably be modified when we take the following considerations into account, viz.—

does not note that this MS. omits the word (Introd. p. 420 *n.*); but Tischendorf repeats his statement that it does, in his eighth edition. Mr. Scrivener is generally very accurate in these minute matters of fact.

1. According to S. Irenæus' express statement, Greek MSS. were known to him with the reading Χριστοῦ.
2. All the evidence for this reading is undoubtedly of the second century; while the opposing witnesses, except perhaps the Thebaic version, are all later. At any rate, it is clear that Χριστοῦ was the current reading through so wide an area as Syria, North Africa, and Gaul, in the second century, though it may have been supplanted by the other in the third.
3. In no other *genuine* place of the New Testament is the collocation of words ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός found. It is found in three places of the Textus Receptus, viz. Acts viii. 37, 1 S. John iv. 3, and Apoc. xii. 17; but every one of these places is undoubtedly spurious: in fact the collocation belongs to a later time, when the distinction between Ἰησοῦς as the *personal* name, and Χριστός as the *official* title had been lost, and the two were merged in one common appellation. There is a peculiar force in the use of ὁ Χριστός in the passage under discussion, by S. Matthew, writing for Jews.
4. It is much more in accordance with the laws of the variation of MSS. that the short reading should have been changed into the longer one, than *vice versa*.
5. Such a variation as that above remarked in B is not seldom an indication of an antecedent corruption of the text.

Considerations 2, 3, and 4, are of great weight. Perhaps the best conclusion is to place Ἰησοῦ in the margin, as a reading supported by great authority, but as having too strong arguments against it to place it in the text. Tischendorf has changed his mind since his seventh edition, and now reads Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in his eighth; probably being influenced by finding this the reading of ℵ.

The age at which a writer lived must be taken into account

in weighing his evidence; the earlier being of course *cæteris paribus* the more valuable.

Sometimes, as for instance when a writer is commenting continuously on the words of a passage, an inference of some value may be drawn against words that he omits. So too, though this is still more precarious, if in a discussion on some particular doctrine a passage notably bearing upon it is not adduced, there is some presumption that the passage was unknown to that writer.

NOTE.

A very useful work has been lately accomplished for the study of the Latin Versions, by a German critic named Rönsch, already known for his work, *Itala und Vulgata*. He has collected all the citations from the New Testament that are made in Tertullian's writings, and arranged them in their proper order; the direct citations in one column, and the indirect citations, reminiscences, &c. in a parallel column; thus giving a comprehensive view of all the passages of the New Testament for which Tertullian may be cited as a witness. This he calls *Das neue Testament Tertullian's*. It is in fact an attempt at a critical restoration of the text of the *Vetus Latina*, so far as it is quoted by Tertullian. This is the sort of work from which fruit may now be looked for. The method of the science of Textual Criticism is tolerably well understood: the materials from which conclusions are to be drawn still admit of much careful sifting and purifying, especially in the particular field of Patristic evidence.

CHAPTER VI.

DISCUSSION OF THE EVIDENCE DERIVED FROM THE FOREGOING SOURCES.

§ 1. *Summary of results reached so far.*

THE results at which we have arrived may be summed up as follows:—

We have seen that it is possible to assign approximately, on purely external considerations, the date at which any given manuscript was transcribed. We must be careful to distinguish between the date of a manuscript and the date of the text which it presents. A very (comparatively) recent manuscript *may* present a very ancient text; but the first presumption is against it, and the claim must be proved for every separate case. A knowledge however of the date of an early MS. is useful as giving a point of time, before which any variation occurring in that MS. must have arisen. We have two MSS. of the fourth century supplying us, as has been shown already, with the evidence of other MSS. of a date anterior to themselves. There are other MSS. of every subsequent century down to the twelfth.

Of the existing Versions, we have seen that we know a great deal about the history of the Latin, including the fact that one of its forms, considerable remains of which are extant, belong to the second century. We know from

external sources that a Syriac version existed as early as the second century, and that the Peshito is at least as old as the early half of the fourth. The Gothic version we know to belong to the middle of the fourth; the Armenian to the middle of the fifth; the Philoxenian and Harclean to the sixth and seventh centuries respectively. The dates assigned in Chapter IV to the two Egyptian versions, to the Curetonian Syriac, and to the Æthiopic, depend in part upon internal considerations, which have yet to be discussed.

The dates of all the Patristic writings useful for our purposes are known historically. Consequently, where they have been edited critically, or where we meet with explicit statements in them regarding any given readings, there we have distinct evidence of the recognition of the reading in question in the time of the writer; and in many cases his opinion upon the correctness or incorrectness of it.

Some of this sort of evidence is of the second century; a great deal of it belongs to the third and early fourth.

The question next arises, Is it possible, with this amount of actually dated evidence, to construct a history of the text, at any rate in broad outline? Can we gain some general notions of the *direction*, so to speak, in which the text was modified? If we could fix but a few clear landmarks, we might be able to assign to any particular text, of otherwise unknown date, its historical place in the series with some degree of probability. We must now therefore turn our attention to the characteristics of the different texts presented by these various authorities, and see what phænomena they exhibit.

§ 2. *MSS., though independent of each other, are marked off by general features into groups.*

The first and most obvious feature is, that scarcely any two known MSS. show anything like verbal agreement. E (S. Paul) is thought to be a transcript of D; and F and G (S. Paul) are thought to be transcripts of some third MS. now lost. But the much-talked-of unanimity of the late, is just as imaginary as that of the early, authorities: that is, in any strict sense of the word.

On the other hand, there may be noticed certain marked features which, in the judgment of all critics, are a sufficient ground for separating the existing authorities into tolerably well-defined groups; though not so minute as to exclude individual variations in the case of each separate MS.

These special features are:—

α. Peculiarities of *spelling*; e.g. such forms as λήμψομαι, ἀντιλήμψεις, &c.; ν preserved unassimilated in words compounded with prepositions, as συνζητεῖν, σύνζυγος, &c.; ν ἐφελκυστικόν, and the final ς of οὕτως, &c., preserved before consonants. The aspirate substituted for the *tenuis* in such cases as ἔφιδε, ἐφ' ἐλπίδι; ἀφελπίζοντες, κ.τ.λ. Such forms as τεσσεράκοντα, ὀλεθρεύων, ἐχθές, for τεσσαράκοντα, ὀλοθρεύων, χθές, and others.

β. Peculiar formation of *inflexions*; as μαχαίρης, σπείρης, for the Attic termination in -ας; the accus. of nouns of third declension, and of adjectives, ending in -ν, as ἀσφαλῆν, ποδήρην, &c.; neglect of the augment in a few verbs beginning with a diphthong; second aorists with first aor. terminations, as εἶπα, ἔπεσα, ἦλθα, &c.; a future conjunctive found in a few cases, &c., &c.

γ. Peculiarities of *syntax*: ἐάν for ἄν; ἵνα, ἐάν, ὅταν, &c., with the indicative; for which, as well as for abundant

examples of the previous peculiarities, the reader is referred to Tischendorf's Prolegomena, and to Winer's Grammar, edited by Rev. W. F. Moulton, 1870, pp. 37–128.

δ. Certain characteristic readings, including variations in the order of words, omissions of words, and even of clauses, which must be noticed more at length presently by themselves.

§ 3. *Two main groups commonly recognised by critics.*

That manuscript texts fall into several distinct groups, marked by the presence or absence of peculiarities of this sort, has been recognised by all the later critics.

For just 200 years, from the time of the Complutensian editors and Erasmus down to Mill and Bentley, only *the variations* of MSS. were noted. The *Textus Receptus* was reprinted again and again, MSS. were collated and their various readings registered, but no comparison of them was attempted. Nor were editors to blame for this. Sufficient materials were as yet wanting.

The next 140 years was a period in which materials were more systematically amassed and classified, and various theories of criticism propounded. Mill (d. 1710) led the way, pointing out the relative value of the three sources of evidence, and collecting immense stores of material of each kind. Bentley (d. 1742) very shortly afterwards pointed out the true mode of dealing with the available evidence; but 'he was in advance both of the spirit of his age and of the materials at his command,' and his labours were not brought to perfection.

As soon as a sufficient mass of evidence was at the disposal of the critic to admit of comprehensive treatment, the points of *similarity* as well as of *divergence* began to be noticed; and it was soon seen that the authorities fell into groups.

Two, three, and four groups have been distinguished by different critics; and different hypotheses propounded to account for their origin. All alike have recognised a broad distinction between a comparatively small group, which includes the most ancient documents, together with some later uncials and a few cursives, and the group to which the great mass of more recent MSS. belong. Some critics go on to subdivide one or both of these.

BENGEL (d. 1752) would at first have subdivided the former of these and made three groups; but finally he pronounced in favour of two, which he called *African* and *Asiatic*.

GRIESBACH (d. 1812) finally declared in favour of three groups, which he named *Alexandrine*, *Western*, and *Byzantine*. The two former of these would be subdivisions of Bengel's '*African*'; but Griesbach himself allowed that the line of demarcation between them was not rigid. The '*Western*' group was intended to contain D and other Græco-Latin codices, with the Latin versions.

HUG (the first edition of his *Einleitung* was published in 1808, the second in 1826) attempted a more subtil analysis, intended to exhibit the mode in which he thought the grouping had arisen. He thought he could discern *four* groups; one containing examples of an unrevised text, the other three being derived from this by independent revisions. Two of these however contain the chief part of our existing documents, and in the main coincide with the groups of the twofold division. EICHHORN (1818–1827) agreed in Hug's scheme with some slight modifications. SCHOLZ (1830–1836) returned to the simpler twofold division. TISCHENDORF, in his seventh edition, adopts a fourfold division in two pairs, naming them *Alexandrine* and *Latin*, *Asiatic* and *Byzantine*. LACHMANN (d. 1851) speaks of two groups, *African* and *Byzantine*.

It really seems that to go beyond the broad line of

demarcation recognised by all between the two chief groups is very precarious. The gap between any subdivisions can be bridged over by a number of copies exhibiting texts with all intermediate degrees of resemblance. If any subordinate group has a claim to be recognised, it is that called '*Western*' by Griesbach, and '*Latin*' by Tischendorf. Its typical examples are marked by numerous interpolations. Yet the existence of many of these in the Curetonian Syriac would seem to show that neither the title '*Western*' nor '*Latin*' is wholly appropriate. The wide acceptance of these interpolations in the East and West has suggested the hypothesis that they had their origin in the traditional oral teaching, which was long the instrument alike of extending and edifying the Church. Apart from these interpolations the documents of this group exhibit a text closely approaching that of the *Alexandrine* or *African* group. So far then we see that our documentary authorities, which all differ from each other in some particulars, yet fall into at least two main groups; one characterised by the above-mentioned peculiarities, the other more conformed in diction to ordinary classical Greek, and, in the passages referred to under the *fourth* head, presenting the readings which we find in the Textus Receptus.

§ 4. *Examples of the proofs that the earlier type of text is to be found in the smaller group of witnesses.*

It is next to be shown that the type of text given by the first, though the smaller, of these groups is older than that of the other, which is numerically so much larger. In other words, the text which we should construct, if we take our authorities from the first group, will be nearer to that of the New Testament writers themselves than a text based upon the other group. This is proved by an inductive argument, depending upon a comparison of the readings of the two

groups of MSS., in a number of passages where the true reading is given by indisputably early authorities, such as express citations of the early Patristic writers and versions like the Vetus Latina, whose antiquity is above dispute. Here we must guard against arguing in a circle. For instance, the Curetonian Syriac cannot be used in the proof. That it can lay claim to the very highest antiquity we have already once or twice implied; but this claim rests upon considerations drawn from the character of its text. We cannot therefore, in the first place, use it to determine what type of text is the oldest. But when the characteristics of the oldest type of text have been determined by other evidence, and we find that the Curetonian Syriac, or any other version, or any late Greek MSS., presents a text of this type, we may assume it into the group, and henceforth make use of its evidence to help in determining any doubtful questions that may remain.

We proceed then to discuss a few such crucial passages by way of example. [The student is strongly recommended to work out the critical evidence of other passages than those which follow with the help of some good critical edition of the Greek Testament. A list of such passages may be found in Tregelles' Account of the Printed Text, p. 133, &c.[a] A very large number of passages are discussed, with the evidence known at the time of the publication of the work, by Mr. Green in his Course of Developed Criticism (Bagsters). Apart from the power thus gained of appreciating the value of the different kinds of evidence, it is only by such an exercise that it is possible to realise the force of the argument for preferring the text of the few older to that of the many late witnesses.]

[a] Some of his instances are the various readings in S. Matt. xviii. 35; S. Mark iii. 29; S. Luke viii. 9, and 20; S. John v. 16; vi. 51; ix. 8, and 26; x. 33; Acts xv. 24; Rom. v. 1; xiv. 9; 1 Cor. ii. 4; vii. 5, &c.

a. Quite a test-passage is S. Matt. xix. 17. The Textus Receptus reads τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς, ὁ Θεός, which is the unquestioned reading in the parallel passages S. Mark x. 18; S. Luke xviii. 19. The alternative reading in S. Matthew is τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός: the very existence of which, *backed by any good support*, would be a strong *primâ facie* argument for its genuineness, on the principle laid down at p. 92. Now let us see what the evidence is. Not to go into extreme minutiæ, it will be found that the reading of the Textus Receptus is supported by C of the old MSS.; by the later uncials and the mass of cursives: by *f* and *q* of the Latin versions; by the Peshito and Harclean (*text*) of the Syriac versions; and by the Thebaic: also by Hilary, Optatus, Ambrose, and Chrysostom, with the main body of the later Patristic writers. For the other reading, the first clause is supported by ℵ, B, [D][b], L, 1, 22: by nine codices of the Vetus Latina, and the Vulgate; by the Curetonian and Jerusalem Syriac; the Memphitic, and the Armenian versions: by Eusebius, Jerome, and others of the Fathers: Origen and S. Augustine mention it expressly in these words: ὁ μὲν οὖν Ματθαῖος ὡς περὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἔργου ἐρωτηθέντος τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐν τῷ, τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω; ἀνέγραψεν. ὁ δὲ Μάρκος καὶ Λουκᾶς φασὶ τὸν σωτῆρα εἰρηκέναι τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς, ὁ Θεός: and *de illo divite .... potest videri distare aliquid, quod secundum Matthæum dicitur, Quid me interrogas de bono? secundum illos autem* (sc. S. Mark and S. Luke) *Quid me dicis bonum? ....* &c. The τοῦ is omitted by D.

[b] When an authority is quoted in brackets, it is implied that its evidence is only partial; as here, D, by the omission of τοῦ, is not in strict accordance with ℵ and B.

The second clause is supported by ℵ, B, [D], L, (1), 22; by seven codices of the Vetus Latina, and the Vulgate; by the Curetonian and Jerusalem Syriac; the Memphitic, and Armenian. ὁ is omitted by D and 1. This clause is not so *expressly* supported by any Patristic writer as the first; but it occurs very distinctly in Irenæus, though in combination with the Textus Receptus version of the first clause. Several authorities give a mixed edition of the passage, one clause in accordance with one form, the other clause in accordance with the other form, as the Harclean Syriac (*margin*), the Æthiopic, two codices of the Vetus Latina; Eusebius, Irenæus, and Justin Martyr; while the cursive MS. 251 gives both the forms in full, that of the Textus Receptus first, and then the other. Such evidence as this points unmistakably to the existence of an antecedent variation. The evidence of Origen and S. Augustine is express as to a difference between S. Matthew's account and those of S. Mark and S. Luke. Among those authorities which present a different form of the passage in S. Matthew from that in the parallel passages are included nearly all the very earliest. The reading here given by ℵ and B seems to have been current before the time of Irenæus and Justin Martyr, and before the formation of the Vetus Latina: that is to say, we are carried back at least to the beginning of the second century; which is an earlier date than can be claimed by any authority for the common reading of this passage.

Further, it must be remembered that it is in accordance with the observed tendency of copyists to alter one passage into conformity with another parallel passage. It is not their habit to introduce discrepancies.

And, once more, let us consider that on no intelligible principle can it be assumed that the passage has been

tampered with on theological grounds; for then why were the two parallel passages left, as they are, without any suspicion of a variation?

On the whole, we must conclude that in this passage those authorities which differ from the Textus Receptus give us the earlier and truer text.

β. In S. Matt. xv. 8 the Textus Receptus reads [*ἐγγίζει μοι*] *ὁ λαὸς οὗτος* [*τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν καὶ*] *τοῖς χείλεσί με τιμᾷ*, which is scarcely varied from the LXX. of Is. xxix. 13. This is the reading of C and most of the later uncials and of the mass of cursives; of *f* alone among the Latin versions, and of the Harclean Syriac. On the other hand, the words which are inclosed in square brackets are omitted by ℵ, B, D, L, 33, 124; by all the Latin versions (except *f*), the Curetonian Syriac and Peshito, and by the Memphitic, Armenian, and Æthiopic. The Patristic evidence is for the omission; Origen saying expressly, after quoting the passage in full from Isaiah, *καὶ προείπομέν γε ὅτι οὐκ αὐταῖς λέξεσιν ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Ματθαῖος τὸ προφητικόν.*

Thus here again we find the same smaller group of MSS. presenting that reading for which there is express authority in an early writer, and very early support from the versions. Besides, it is a well-known tendency of the copyists to supply defects in quotations.

γ. The case is as nearly as possible the same in S. Matt. xx. 22, *δύνασθε πιεῖν τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ μέλλω πίνειν*, [*καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι*]. Here again Origen expressly says that the latter clause is in S. Mark, and not in S. Matthew. In S. Mark all our authorities give it without variation: in S. Matthew it is omitted by ℵ, B, D, L, Z, 1, 22; by almost all the codices of the Vetus Latina, the Curetonian Syriac, Memphitic, Thebaic,

and Æthiopic. It is found in C, with the later MSS., uncials and cursives; in the Peshito and Harclean Syriac, and in the Armenian, with *f*, *h*, and *q* of the Vetus Latina.

The same considerations as in the previous case will govern our choice of the reading, about which there is no room for doubt.

δ. Even readings that are undoubtedly erroneous may help to show the antiquity of the documents in which they occur: e. g. after S. Matt. xx. 28, there is found in D, in the Curetonian, and one codex of the Harclean (*margin*) Syriac, and in almost all the codices of the Vetus Latina, but in no other Greek MS. or early version, an extensive interpolation, which may be seen in Scrivener's Introduction, p. 425. There are numberless variations in these authorities, and S. Jerome has rejected it. There is no doubt that it is an interpolation; but since it was certainly current in the second century, and rejected in the fourth, the text exhibited by any document containing it would probably be very ancient.

ε. A very instructive passage to examine is S. Luke xi. 2–4, containing that Evangelist's account of the Lord's Prayer. As read in a modern critical edition of the Greek Testament, it will be found to want three clauses, which occur in the form as given by S. Matthew: viz. *ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, and *ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*.

For the *insertion* of the first of these clauses *entire* the authorities are A, C, D, with about fifteen other uncials, and most of the cursives; *b*, *e*, *f*, *l*, *q* of the Vetus Latina; all the Syriac versions, including the Curetonian; the Memphitic, and the Æthiopic. L, one cursive, one early copy of the Vulgate, and the Armenian

version, support ἡμῶν only. Four copies of the Vetus Latina give *sancte* instead of *noster*. No. 33 (cursive) seems to favour ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, but not ἡμῶν. For the *omission* entire are ℵ, B, 1, 22, 57, 130, and 346; with all the chief MSS. of the Vulgate but two; as well as the express testimony of Origen, and of a scholion in some of the MSS. Origen's words are, ἔχουσι δὲ αἱ λέξεις τοῦ μὲν Ματθαίου . . . . Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν . . . . τοῦ δὲ Λουκᾶ οὕτως, Πάτερ ἁγιασθήτω . . . . κ.τ.λ. Tertullian's testimony seems also to favour the omission. Now strong as the evidence for the full form seems at first sight, it is much weakened, first by the variations also attested, and then by the deliberate rejection of the clause from the Latin in S. Jerome's Vulgate. Against this and the express assertion of Origen it cannot stand; especially when we remember that the tendency of copyists to supply supposed deficiencies would be likely to be stronger than ever here, where the longer form was so familiar from constant public and private use.

We then pass to the clause γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, which is wanting in B, L, 1, 22, 130, 346; *ff*^{2} of the Vetus Latina; the Vulgate, and Curetonian Syriac. There is also most express testimony of Origen, Tertullian, and S. Augustine for the omission in S. Luke; Origen and S. Augustine drawing attention to the contrast between his form and S. Matthew's. The presence of the clause is attested by ℵ, A, C, D, &c.; by the chief codices of the Vetus Latina; by the Peshito and Harclean Syriac, and the Memphitic. There are slight variations here too between the different witnesses; and the same marked disagreement between the Vetus Latina and the Vulgate of S. Jerome. In fact, on the whole the same

remarks apply here as in the previous case. It will be noticed that ℵ and the Curetonian Syriac have changed sides here; giving an useful illustration of a remark made above, that the true text must not be looked for in any one document, but must be elicited by a careful comparison of all.

For the third clause, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, the authorities are (ℵ^{3} ^{a}), A, C, D, &c.; seven codices of the Vetus Latina; the three Syriac versions; the Memphitic, and the Æthiopic: ranged against which are ℵ*, B, L, 1, 22, 57, and six other cursives; the Vulgate, and Armenian; with the express testimony of Origen, Cyril, and S. Augustine, and apparently that of Tertullian. Here again the verdict of the recent critical editors is in favour of omitting the clause.

It is pertinent to observe that an omission, so strongly attested as this is, of three important clauses, in a formulary so well known and cherished as the Lord's Prayer, is utterly inexplicable on the hypothesis that S. Matthew's form is the only genuine one. We can easily understand the importation of the clauses, either from another Gospel or from a well-known liturgical formula, into a less familiar and seemingly abridged form, like that of S. Luke; but neither accident nor intention can adequately account for such clear evidence as there is in favour of so large an omission, if S. Luke's Gospel had originally contained the clauses in question.

These five instances are samples of a vast number[c] of others, by means of which it is shown that the true text is on

[c] Dr. Tregelles estimates that there are between two and three thousand. (On the Printed Text, p. 148, note.)

the whole to be sought for in the smaller of the two groups of MSS. It must be borne in mind however that they are but samples, and that the value of the induction rests upon the number of instances discussed. A conclusion drawn from a few might easily be erroneous. For instance, it might be thought from the examples above given that C is commonly opposed to ℵ and B, and in harmony with the Textus Receptus; whereas on the whole the contrary is true.

Dr. Tregelles sums up the results of his investigation as follows (Account of the Printed Text, p. 148):—

'Readings whose antiquity is proved apart from MSS. are found in repeated instances in a *few* of the extant copies.'

'These few MSS., the text of which is thus proved to be ancient, include some (and often several) of the oldest MSS. extant.'

'In some cases the attested reading is found in but one or two MSS., but those of the most ancient class.'

'And as certain MSS. are found, by a process of inductive proof, to contain an ancient text, their character as witnesses must be considered to be so established, that in other places their testimony deserves peculiar weight.'

The same conclusions *mutatis mutandis* will hold of course with respect to the text exhibited by those versions whose dates are not known independently.

If this conclusion be not true, and if the text given by the larger group of MSS. be the purer of the two, we are met by a very remarkable phænomenon. For the true text will be one of which no example is found till after a lapse of several centuries from its origin; during which centuries however there is tolerably abundant evidence of the (so called) corrupted text. A development-theory of a true text is out of the question. Probably no one would assert that the text gradually cleared itself from errors as time advanced. So

then we have to believe that, though the original text was in existence previously to and alongside of the later corrupt text, the early versions were made from the corrupted form, and the early writers all quote from the corrupt form; while by a singular ill-fortune no very early MS. of the true text survives, though we have several of the corrupt form. It is easier to accept the other hypothesis. Further confirmation of our choice of alternatives is supplied by the next point which we have to notice.

§ 5. *An order traceable among the various documentary witnesses.*

Amid the variations of different witnesses a certain order seems traceable. The links between the normal types of the two main groups may be in some measure supplied by examples, in which we see Alexandrine and Byzantine readings mixed in various degrees. The manuscripts in which this phænomenon occurs are chiefly of the fourth and sixth centuries. After the eighth century only a few copies here and there exhibit Alexandrine readings. (See Tisch., Prol. to seventh ed., p. xlv.) That the text was undergoing a gradual transition is borne out by other evidence. In quotations by S. Chrysostom (fourth century) we find readings which agree with the Cod. Brixianus (*f*), and with the Gothic version, but which are not known to Origen, and do not agree with the earliest versions. This points to the fourth century as the period when the text began to be modified. We shall see presently good reason for thinking just this period to have been the most important in the history of the Greek text. (See Horne and Tregelles' Introduction, p. 106; Smith's Dict. Bib., art. 'New Test.,' p. 510, § 15.)

Thus then, by the mutual comparison of ecclesiastical writers of various dates, with the versions, whose dates we also know, and the earliest transcribed MSS., we believe that

we are able to trace a gradual change passing over the text. And thus we arrive at a principle which enables us to judge of the antiquity of the text of any version or MS. recently discovered or whose history is unknown. We should infer that it belongs to such an age as the admixture of Byzantine with Alexandrine readings in its text seemed to indicate. These are the grounds on which the Peshito is adjudged to be posterior to the Curetonian Syriac, and this latter version to be of the earliest possible date; which give extreme probability to the assumed antiquity of the Memphitic, and the still earlier date of the Thebaic; and on which such cursives as 1 and 33 are quoted as of higher authority than many uncials.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORICAL CORROBORATION.

THE foregoing conclusions have been reached by mere investigation of the phænomena of the text itself. An important question still remains to be discussed, namely, how far these conclusions harmonize with such historical evidence as we possess.

Some of the critics whose schemes of classification were just now spoken of attempted to account for them historically by assuming authoritative *recensions*, or revisions, of the text to have been made at different times, or in different places. Griesbach at first propounded a theory of this kind, but afterwards abandoned it. Hug's scheme was the most elaborate. He rested his hypothesis on a mistaken interpretation of some passages in S. Jerome[a], which speak of Lucian and Hesychius having laboured at the text of the Scriptures, and of certain copies called after their names. He thought that Hesychius gave a recension in Egypt, Lucian in Asia, and Origen in Palestine. If it could be shown that any recension of the Greek text ever took place, there might be reason in the claim made for the later MSS. to determine the true character of the text; for it might be said that they are the results of an investigation and correction made by

[a] See the passages from S. Jerome quoted at length, and Hug's deductions from them criticised, in Horne and Tregelles' Introduction, p. 78, seq.

competent authority; and that the few earlier witnesses are merely relics of an imperfect state of things already tried and found wanting. Unfortunately there is not a tittle of evidence that any such recension ever took place. On the contrary, such notices as we have, bearing upon the history of the text in the fourth century, warrant an opposite presumption, viz. that a difference in the value of MSS. was recognised, and the Alexandrine text preferred. For instance, Constantine[b] commissioned Eusebius of Cæsarea to procure copies of the Scriptures for the churches in Constantinople. And Constans[c] (Emperor of the West 337–350 A.D.) gave S. Athanasius of Alexandria a similar commission. Now whether Eusebius procured his copies from Cæsarea, where he had the very MSS. of Origen, or from Alexandria direct, they were pretty certain to present an Alexandrine text. So would those of S. Athanasius. But this is not all: S. Jerome's revision of the Latin, which we know to have been less thorough-going than he would have wished, is much more assimilated to the Alexandrine than to the Byzantine text. But he expressly promises in his Preface to revise it *ad fidem Græcorum codicum, sed veterum;* and he elsewhere speaks with respect of certain *vera exemplaria*, and of the codices of Adamantius (Origen). These facts show that he recognised a difference between the Greek MSS. of his time; and they show moreover what character of text he was in favour of. Thus we have some evidence of the variations of MSS. in the fourth century, and of a

[b] Euseb. Vita Const. iv. 36.

[c] S. Athan. ad Imper. Constantium Apologia, § 4 (ed. Bened. p. 297 E); also see the Life of S. Athanasius prefixed to that edition, p. xxxiii. This was about the year 340 A.D. Tischendorf (Proleg. p. lxvii.) says that Constans gave this commission in order to send the books to Byzantium (*ad Byzantinos*) but there must be some mistake in this statement.

preference being shown to the Alexandrian type by writers of critical power like Eusebius, Athanasius, and Jerome. There cannot therefore have been any authorized revision producing any approximation to a Byzantine text.

It is always safer, as well as more philosophical, to interpret ascertained phænomena if possible in the light of known historical facts, than to take refuge in conjectural hypotheses. Will the history of the fourth century supply us with any data for the solution of the problem before us? will it help us to explain the change which we see already gradually creeping over the text?

Perhaps the most important event in the whole political history of the Church has been the formal recognition of Christianity by Constantine in the early part of this century (Edict of Milan, 313 A.D.), followed up by his favour to it, and ultimate adoption of it. Now let us try to imagine the probable effect upon a state of society, whose religious convictions were of the weakest conceivable kind, when a form of religion was placed before it, recommended with all the influence that attaches to the court of an absolute Emperor; and that, in the new capital, Constantinople, which had no time-honoured associations of its own, like those of pagan Rome, powerful to hold men captive to the old religions. Hitherto the profession of Christianity had involved an almost certain risk of persecution, perhaps of martyrdom. *Now* it became fashionable to be a Christian; and there are multitudes in every age with whom such a motive is quite sufficient. The ranks of the Christians would be rapidly recruited: and one consequence of this, and of the legalization of public Christian worship, would be a considerable and sudden demand for copies of the Christian Scriptures. On the other hand, the difficulty of supplying the demand was enhanced by the wholesale destruction of the books during the persecutions of Diocletian (accession 284, abdication 305 A.D.). Now, bearing

in mind what were the conditions of the case; that a book, marked by a certain ruggedness of style, disfigured (as it would be called) by provincialisms in spelling and grammar, containing sometimes apparently discrepant accounts of the same transactions, had to be suddenly and rapidly multiplied for the public and private uses of a fashionable capital, and that by mere professional copyists; we might reasonably expect to find just what we *do* find to have happened from some cause or other. We find a tendency to soften down and pare away those provincialisms and roughnesses, and to alter or supply words where one passage seems at variance with another. There was no sudden change. The tendency exerted itself very gradually, and often no doubt quite unconsciously. A scribe accustomed to a particular mode of spelling, for instance, or to a particular grammatical construction, would use it mechanically; or a form of words familiar by repetition might easily be suggested and transcribed quite unintentionally in a different passage, in which some similar words, or perhaps only some one leading word, occurred. In later times such alteration was intentional, as is shown by the correction throughout, at the cost of immense trouble, of such codices as B, or the Cod. Claromontanus, from the Alexandrine readings to the more classical forms of the later MSS.

It is no less easy to account for the existence of so many more MSS. of the Byzantine than of the Alexandrine type. Of course for a time the old centres of multiplication of copies, Alexandria, Antioch, and Cæsarea, remained in activity as well as Constantinople; and thus, from the comparison and correction of one copy by another, all sorts of mixed readings might easily get into circulation. But after the Mohammedan conquest of Egypt and Syria (633–639 A.D.), Constantinople remained the centre of Eastern Christianity

for eight hundred years, until its capture in 1453; during which time the influences spoken of above would continue to operate with greater or less force, until, by the continual imperceptible accumulation of small changes, often without any distinct conscious intention, the majority of copies in circulation, though with many individual peculiarities, would exhibit a family likeness of their own, gradually more and more divergent from the ancient Alexandrine type.

Thus, in strict accordance with historical facts, and without having recourse to any supposed revisions of the text, we conceive that the phænomena exhibited by the extant MSS. may be fully accounted for.

The relation thus shown to exist between the early Alexandrine type and the later Byzantine type of text is the justification of the remark at the end of Chapter I, which at first sight seems startling; namely, that we are warranted in refusing any authority to the Textus Receptus *as such*. We are now more prepared to accept a text formed upon those documents, MSS., Versions, and Patristic writings, which we have seen contain the earliest type of text: we do not look for unanimity in the documents from which we propose to elicit the true text: we do not expect to find the true text complete in any single MS., or even any set of MSS. All the different sources of evidence have to be laid under contribution. Yet no one need be afraid that any uncertainty is thereby introduced into the sacred text, or the slightest doubt thrown upon any single doctrine whatsoever. The same investigations which justify this course of proceeding indicate clearly enough the proper mode of handling the materials placed before us. The result being that, except in a very few places, critical editors would be found to give the same text; and those few places would be of no real dogmatic significance. The truth is, that no doctrine of Christianity is founded on any one or two isolated passages. To argue as

if it were so would indicate entire misapprehension of the grounds of our faith. Moreover, if these principles of dealing with the text seem to take away something with one hand, they give back something at least as valuable with the other. The same method which expunges the passage concerning the Heavenly Witnesses, and denies the reputed *authorship* of the conclusion of S. Mark's Gospel, establishes, at any rate, the *canonicity* of this passage, and places beyond all reasonable doubt the authenticity of S. Luke xxii. 43, 44. The often-quoted words of Bentley are as true now as when he wrote them: 'Make your thirty thousand (various readings) as many more, if numbers of copies can ever reach that sum: all the better to a knowing and serious reader, who is thereby more richly furnished to select what he sees genuine. But even put them into the hands of a knave or a fool, and yet, with the most sinistrous and absurd choice, he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter, nor so disguise Christianity but that every feature of it will still be the same.'

APPENDIX A.

ON CANONS OF CRITICISM.

It remains to notice some principles of criticism which have guided different critics in their task of deciding between the claims of conflicting readings. With regard to their value, it must be borne in mind that they are inferences rather than axiomatic principles. They are the recorded results of the comparison and interrogation of a large mass of documents of various kinds. Further, they belong to the region of probable evidence. Some of them admit of being more widely applied than others, and none of them could with safety be applied universally. By a well-known convention the value of such statements may be represented by a proper fraction, determined in each case according to the observed facts. For instance, let us suppose that the value of one of these principles is represented by the fraction $\frac{17}{20}$. This means that it may be expected to hold true in seventeen cases out of every twenty; but then, if rigidly applied, it would lead to a wrong result in three cases out of every twenty. Hence these canons must be applied with caution, and in combination with other evidence.

The student must beware of supposing, however, that there is any possibility of a mere arithmetical adjustment of the claims of conflicting readings. In estimating the probability of a various reading having arisen from some particular

cause, which may vary in different MSS. according to the observed idiosyncrasies of the scribe; and in comparing the evidence of different kinds, external and internal, for and against conflicting readings; apart from the practical acquaintance with the work of collating MSS., there must always be ample scope for the highest critical acumen, as well as for the most highly trained perception of the value of evidence.

It seems almost superfluous to affirm that *every element of evidence must be allowed its full weight;* but it is a principle that must not be forgotten.

Then, with reference to the External Evidence, such canons as the following have been laid down:—

1. The combined testimony of the earliest MSS. with the earliest versions, and quotations in the earliest writers, marks a certain reading.
2. In estimating the value of conflicting evidence, great weight must be given to the testimony of witnesses from localities widely separated from each other. Such testimony will outweigh that given by witnesses of one class, or coming from one locality, even though these may be numerically superior: and it can be satisfactorily met only by a counter consensus of witnesses from different localities.
3. It may be laid down generally that mere numerical preponderance of witnesses of one kind is of very little weight.
4. The relative weight of the three classes of evidence differs for different sorts of errors: therefore there can be no mere mechanical determination of the Text, by always taking the verdict of two out of the three classes, or by any other similar short and easy method.

5. Disagreement of the ancient authorities often marks the existence of a corruption anterior to them.
6. The ancient reading is *generally* the reading of the more ancient manuscripts.

Of canons relating to Internal Evidence the following are specimens[a]:—

1. *Brevior lectio præferenda verbosiori.* This is Griesbach's first canon. It may be found, together with his others, with its various limitations and corollaries, in the Prolegomena to Dean Alford's Greek Testament, vol. i. It rests on the well-known tendency of transcribers, already before alluded to, to include in the text all marginal notes, glosses, &c. found in their copy; nothing, if possible, being omitted. This canon has additional probability in cases where the shorter reading is harsher than the other, or elliptical or obscure; for then there is the possibility of the longer reading being an intentional alteration; or again, if there is in addition a variation between the readings of the codices, either in the phraseology, or in the order of words; or again, at the commencement of passages appointed as Church Lections.

   On the other hand, there are considerations which may sometimes cause a preference of the longer reading, e. g. where a homoioteleuton may have occurred. Examples of cases for the application of this canon

[a] It must be borne in mind that this list is not intended to be exhaustive. Every critical editor has laid down his own principles, of which it will generally be found that some cover the same ground as those of other editors, though differently worded; others depend upon the particular theories of the editor in question himself. The object of these pages being to give the beginner a general notion of the subject, only a few examples have been selected, of those most widely agreed upon, as illustrations of the mode of dealing with the evidence.

have been given at pp. 74, 75. See also the remarks on pp. 18, 19.

2. *Proclivi lectioni præstat ardua.* This was first laid down by Bengel. It depends upon the tendency of transcribers to alter (in perfect good faith, and fancying that they were doing a good work) something they did not understand into something which they did. It is of very wide application, but requires great circumspection in its use, for it may easily be overpressed. Among *lectiones arduæ* will be included some cases of solecism or unusual readings, rare or irregular usages of words, substitutions of less definite for more definite expressions (but here great caution is needed), cases of want of connexion, &c. This principle renders δικαιοσύνην for ἐλεημοσύνην (S. Matt. vi. 1) the more probable reading. It is an argument for those who would insert ὁ Θεὸς (Rom. viii. 28); though in this case the diplomatic evidence on the other side is too strong.

Griesbach laid down a maxim which would be covered by this one; *præferatur aliis lectio cui subest sensus apparenter falsus, qui vero re penitus examinata verus esse deprehenditur.* An illustration of this may be taken from Tregelles' Printed Text, pp. 203, 204. In the text, 1 Cor. xi. 29, ὁ γὰρ ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων (ἀναξίως) κρίμα ἑαυτῷ ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει μὴ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα, the word ἀναξίως is wanting in the best authorities; and its absence may at first sight cause a little difficulty, as long as the wrong impression remains upon one's mind, caused by the mistranslation of the negative μὴ in the English Version, as if it were οὐ. Translate this accurately, and the difficulty vanishes: '*He that eateth and drinketh eateth and drinketh judgment to himself if he do not distinguish the Body.*' The clause μὴ δια-

κρίνων τὸ σῶμα belongs to the words ὁ ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων, and is placed last for emphasis' sake. The τοῦ Κυρίου of the Textus Receptus is also wanting in the best authorities, but its absence can cause no difficulty, inasmuch as the word σῶμα has occurred just before in connexion with τοῦ Κυρίου (ver. 27), and can therefore have but one meaning. ἀναξίως might have crept into the text from a marginal gloss intended to connect the μὴ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα of ver. 29 with the ἀναξίως of ver. 27.

3. *That reading is to be preferred which will explain the origin of the variations.* (Tisch. Prol. xxxiii., xlii.) A good illustration of this is given in Smith's Dict. of the Bible, quoted from Tischendorf, though brought forward by him to illustrate a different principle. 'The common reading in Mark ii. 22 is ὁ οἶνος ἐκχεῖται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολοῦνται, which is perfectly simple in itself, and the undoubted reading in the parallel passage of S. Matthew. But here there are great variations. One important MS. (L) reads ὁ οἶνος ἐκχεῖται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοί: another (D, with It.[b]) ὁ οἶνος καὶ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολοῦνται: another (B) ὁ οἶνος ἀπόλλυται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοί. Here, if we bear in mind the reading in S. Matthew, it is morally certain that the text of B is correct. This may have been changed into the common text, but cannot have arisen out of it.' Closely connected with this is another principle laid down by Tischendorf, that a *reading which savours of being an intentional correction is to be suspected, notwithstanding that it may be supported by a majority of the witnesses of one class.* For, in such a case, inspection of the true reading will suggest the mode in which the correction was

[b] This (*Versio*) *Itala* means what has been called by us the Vetus Latina. Five of the best Codd. of this version agree in this variation.

applied. Tischendorf's example is ἐποίησεν in S. Matthew xxv. 16, which he considers the true reading for ἐκέρδησεν. Tregelles, on the other hand, and Westcott think that the diplomatic evidence for ἐκέρδησεν is too weighty to be set aside. (Treg. Gk. Test. in loc.; Dict. of Bible, vol. ii. p. 530.)

4. *In parallel passages*, whether quotations from the Old Testament, or different narratives of the same event, *that reading is* prima facie *to be preferred which gives a verbal dissidence, rather than a verbally concordant reading*. Instances of this principle have been already given (pp. 20, 72, 75–7, &c.) The principle rests on the well-attested tendency of the transcribers to bring passages into harmony with one another. It is discussed, with its cautions and limitations, in Tisch. Proleg. pp. xxxix–xli.

5. *Those readings are to be retained which are characteristic either of the Hellenistic idiom, or of the style of the New Testament writers*. This principle looks to the cases of unclassical idioms, unusual modes of spelling, and other irregularities. Great caution is needed in applying it, for it is almost as possible that a scribe should alter the reading before him to a form of expression characteristic of his author, as that he should do the opposite. (See the remarks on pp. 4, 5.)

APPENDIX B.

CRITICAL DISCUSSION OF SOME DISPUTED PASSAGES.

We now propose to review the evidence for and against a few readings of passages, respecting which there has been some important difference of opinion. Some have been already noticed incidentally. It will be convenient to arrange the evidence for and against them under the four heads separately, of Greek MSS., Versions, Fathers, and Subjective Considerations.

(1.) The first text we will discuss shall be the famous one of the Heavenly Witnesses (1 S. John v. 7, 8). Are the words *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὁ Πατὴρ, ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ* genuine, or not?

I. The evidence in favour of them is as follows:—

1. A MS. at Dublin, Codex Montfortianus (sixteenth century); a MS. in the Vatican Library, Codex Ottobonianus (fifteenth century); a marginal note by a seventeenth-century hand in the MS. No. 173; and the Codex Ravianus, which is copied from the *printed* Complutensian edition.

2. *m* of the Vetus Latina, and many of the Vulgate, but not the best (see below); *one* Armenian MS. of the seventeenth century, and some of the *printed* editions.
3. Some late Latin Fathers, viz. Vigilius (fifth century), the Pseudo-Athanasius, Fulgentius, Cassiodorus, and others.
4. It is said to be incorporated in the Liturgies of both the Greek and Roman Churches; but it is a grave question whether this is not a late interpolation.

II. The evidence against the passage is:—

1. It is omitted by *every* Greek MS. prior to the fifteenth century.
2. It is omitted in every Version, but the Latin, and the suspicious Armenian exception mentioned above. Even in the case of the Latin Version, all the Codices but *m* of the Vetus Latina omit it, and so do the best of S. Jerome's revision.
3. No Greek Father quotes the passage, even in the numerous arguments on the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity, where its value would have been immense. The passages in which it has been alleged that Tertullian and S. Cyprian refer to this text, are most easily explained with reference to the rest of the passage, the disputed words being expunged.

Our conclusion from this evidence must be, that the text has not a shadow of a claim to authenticity. The scanty evidence in its favour is all Latin, and even that not earlier than the fourth century.

(2.) Our next passage shall be the disputed verses at the end of S. Mark's Gospel (c. xvi. 9–20)[a].

I. Evidence against the verses:—

1. ℵ omits the passage. The Gospel ends with *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*, and S. Luke's Gospel begins at the top of the next column as usual, without any mark or note.

B omits the passage; but a whole column is left blank, as if the scribe were aware that something was wanting.

L breaks off at *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*, and in the next column gives two alternative endings to the Gospel, as being both traditional: the first a short (and certainly apocryphal) form, the second being vv. 9–20, as commonly read.

[About thirty cursive MSS. mark the verses in question as doubtful, by placing an asterisk against them, or a marginal note, or a break between vv. 8 and 9, with a note interposed.]

The passage appears to have no place assigned to it by Eusebius among his 'Ammonian' Sections.

2. *k* of the Vetus Latina gives the same ending as the first of L (above). Syr. H (mg) does the same. Æth. (two old MSS.) gives nearly the same. Arm. (some old MSS. omit the passage altogether; others give the verses with a new heading, after a break.) An Arabic Lectionary (ninth century) in the Vatican Library omits it.

3. Eusebius, [Jerome, Gregory of Nyssa, Victor of Antioch, Severus of Antioch, and Euthymius,] all testify to a doubt thrown upon the verses, or to their absence from many codices.

[a] See note on p. 110.

4. (α) There are in this short passage as many as twenty-one words and phrases which do not occur elsewhere in the Gospel; e. g. *πορεύομαι, θεάομαι, ἀπιστέω, μετὰ ταῦτα, ὁ Κύριος* (absolutely of Jesus Christ), *πρώτῃ σαββάτου*, &c. &c.

(β) The identification of S. Mary Magdalene, *ἀφ' ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια*, notwithstanding she has been mentioned already in this chapter and the last, seems to favour the hypothesis of an independent narrative, rather than of a continuation by the same writer.

II. Evidence for the verses:—

1. All the MSS. but those mentioned above.
2. Vet. Lat., Vulg.; Syrr.[b] C, P, H (text), J; Memph.; Goth. (to v. 12); Æth. (some).
3. Irenæus, Tatian, Hippolytus, Apostolic Constitt.
4. (α) It is unlikely that S. Mark would end in such an abrupt way as *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*.

(β) The very difficulties in harmonizing it with the rest of the accounts are an argument in its favour; for, had it not been a true account, it could hardly have been so *early* and *widely* accepted and transmitted as it has been.

(γ) Answer to (I. 4. β). The words *ἀφ' ἧς κ. τ. λ.* give the reason why our Lord appeared first to her. The emphasis lies on the word *πρῶτον*, not on the identifying clause. It is a proof of His love that He appeared *first* to her who had been chiefest of sinners.

[b] The letters after 'Syrr.' stand for 'Curetonian,' 'Peshito,' 'Harclean,' and 'Jerusalem,' respectively.

Conclusion.—From this evidence we see that the passage was extensively and decisively recognised in the second century [and gradually worked its way to full recognition]. The first positive evidence against it is of the fourth century. It is *canonical*, and to be received as *genuine* and inspired; but not *authentic*[c], in the sense of coming from the pen of the writer to whom it is attributed. Of course an uncertainty about the authorship of a book does not necessarily derogate from its authority; otherwise we should be obliged to reject the Books of Judges, Ruth, Esther, Kings and Chronicles, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is possible that here we have a trace of one of those many narratives which S. Luke informs us were committed to writing in Apostolic times (S. Luke i. 1, 2).

(3.) The next passage for discussion shall be one which presents several considerable difficulties (S. John vii. 53—viii. 11), the narrative of the Woman taken in Adultery. The evidence is as follows.

I. Against the passage:—

1. ℵ, A, B, C, T, L, X, Δ, 33 omit it. (A, C are deficient in this place, but the hiatus is not large enough to have contained the passage. L leaves a small gap; as also does Δ, the scribe of which began to write the first words of ch. viii. 12 consecutively after ch. vii. 52, and then erased them.)

E, M, Λ, S, Π, &c. have the passage, but with an asterisk or obelus in the margin.

Several cursives place the passage at the end of the Gospel; and one (69) after S. Luke xxi.

[c] For the difference between '*genuine*,' i. e. *incorrupt*, and '*authentic*,' see Blunt's Theological Dictionary, article 'Authenticity'; and Archbishop Trench's Select Glossary, p. 15.

2. Vet. Lat., *a*, *b*^{2}, *f*, *l**, *q*; Syrr. P, H; Theb.; Memph. (oldest codd.); Goth.; Arm. (oldest codd.), omit the passage.
3. It is nearly certain, either because they do not allude to the passage where the subject almost demands it, or because their commentaries go on consecutively and yet pass over this section, that Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Cyril Alex., Theodore Mops., Theophylact, and other writers were ignorant of it.
4. (*α*) The authorities which give the passage present great variations of reading; which is generally suspicious.
   (*β*) The style is entirely unlike S. John's. There are numerous words and expressions which do not occur anywhere else in his writings; while on the other hand his special peculiarities of style do not appear in this piece of narrative.
   (*γ*) It gratuitously breaks into the middle of a narrative, which runs on continuously but for this interposition.

II. On the other hand:—

1. D has it, but in a somewhat different form. F, G, H, K, U, Γ, and the mass of cursives, have it.
2. Vet. Lat., *b**, *c*, *e*, *ff*^{2}, *g*, *l* (mg); Vulgate; Æth.; Syr. J, &c. have it.
3. The earliest writing in which the passage is recognised is the Apostolic Constitutions. S. Jerome testifies that it was found in many Greek and Latin codices; and S. Augustine defends it.

Here the evidence against the passage is far stronger than in the case of the end of S. Mark's Gospel. Scrivener says

(Introduction, p. 440), 'on all intelligent principles of mere criticism the passage must needs be abandoned.' That is to say, we cannot allow it to be S. John's writing. The style and contents, indeed, in both of which it is utterly different from any of the narratives of the apocryphal gospels, convey an irresistible impression of genuineness; and it is probable that we have a piece of apostolic narrative, upon which the consent of the universal Church has set the seal of *canonicity*. But it would be more satisfactory to separate it from its present context, and place it by itself as an appendix to the Gospel; or at least print it in different type from the rest, to draw attention to the peculiar footing on which it stands; or place it in brackets. Professor Lightfoot would adopt some such plan. (See his remarks on this and the passage last discussed in his work On a fresh Revision of the New Testament, pp. 27, 28.)

(4.) 1 Tim. iii. 16. Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ is the reading of the Textus Receptus. For Θεὸς there are various readings, ὃς and ὅ.

It is convenient to summarize the evidence here, first for *a relative*, and secondly for Θεός; then finally to decide between ὃς and ὅ.

I. Testimony for *a relative*:—

1. ℵ*, A*[d], C*, F, G, 17, 73, 181 have ὅς; D* reads ὅ. (B is defective here.)

[d] There is a difference of opinion as to the testimony of the original scribe of A. Dr. Tregelles, in his edition of this part of the Greek Testament (published in 1870), cites it in favour of ὃς without any suggestion of doubt. Mr. Scrivener, on the other hand, thinks that $\overline{\Theta C}$ (Θεός) was the original reading (see his Introduction, p. 453, with an elaborate note). We think that the impression left by a perusal of that note will probably be in favour of Dr. Tregelles' conclusion. It is one of those delicate points which should be left to skilled collators and practical experts to decide. But we hazard the suggestion that 'the slight shadow of the

2. Vet. Lat., Vulg.; Syrr P. and H. (text *and* mg.); Memph., Theb.; Goth.; Arm.; and the Vatican Arabic MS.

3. The testimony of the Patristic writers needs sifting. The passages which have been cited from S. Ignatius and Hippolytus as favouring the reading Θεὸς are too vague to draw any conclusion from. The words of S. Ignatius are (Ad Ephes. 19) Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου, those of Hippolytus are Θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη: but it is evident that these may be only statements of the doctrine of the Incarnation, which is involved in the verse under discussion, without being intended for express allusions to the verse. We must further set on one side those citations, which have been made, some in support of one, some of the other reading, but which, though they manifestly refer to the passage in question, are paraphrastic, and might follow naturally enough from either reading; since the mystery of God manifest in the flesh in the Person of Jesus Christ is unmistakeably expressed in both readings, though more clearly in one than in the other. Such quotations as Barnabas (Ep. 12), Ἰησοῦς οὐχ ὁ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀλλ' ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τύπῳ καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθείς. Theodotus, Ep. ad Diog., and Origen (the passages out of whose writings are given in Alford's Greek Testament at length), are thought to favour ὅς; on the other

real ancient diameter' (of the Θ), which Mr. Scrivener says he saw 'just above the recent one,' after he had been 'gazing at it with and without a lens,' 'one singularly bright hour, February 7, 1861,' was really the impression of the recent diameter retained for an instant upon the retina of the eye.

hand, Theodoret, Dionysius Alex., and Gregory Nyss. have been quoted as supporting Θεός.

The authorities which *certainly* favour the relative are Chrysostom[e], Cyril of Alexandria[e], Epiphanius, Theodore Mops., the Latin translator of Origen, Jerome, Hilary, and Augustine, with all the Latin Fathers. It may be added, as contributing a certain weight to the evidence on this side, that the text is not quoted by writers, as S. Cyprian for instance, in arguments where the word Θεός, had it been the acknowledged reading, would have supplied a weapon too powerful to be left unused.

II. Testimony for Θεός:—

1. All MSS. in which the passage is contained, except those above mentioned.
2. No version of any critical value. It is the reading of the Slavonic.
3. The later Greek Fathers, as John of Damascus, Œcumenius, and Theophylact.

Thus then for Θεὸς there is no certain testimony prior to the ninth century—nothing before K, L, P of the later uncials, and the Slavonic version; while there is an immense mass of early testimony for a relative.

III. It remains then to decide between ὃς and ὅ. This is a point on which most of the versions can give no help. The Latin favours the neuter; but its weight is diminished by S. Jerome's opinion; the Gothic supports the masculine. The testimony of the early Greek witnesses, both MSS. and writers, with very few exceptions, is for ὅς.

[e] See the remarks on p. 59.

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We may take further into consideration:—

(α) That ὃς is the harder reading, owing to the want of a clearly-expressed antecedent.

(β) That ὁ would be more likely to arise out of ὅς, than the converse, because of the foregoing neuter word μυστήριον.

(γ) That the other reading, ΘC, would more easily arise out of OC than out of O; so that the reading ὃς best accounts for the existence of both the other readings.

Hence, finally, we conclude that ὃς is the true reading.

(5.) S. John v. 3, 4; ἐκδεχομένων τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος κίνησιν. ἄγγελος γὰρ κατὰ καιρὸν κατέβαινεν ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ καὶ ἐτάρασσε τὸ ὕδωρ· ὁ οὖν πρῶτος ἐμβὰς μετὰ τὴν ταραχὴν τοῦ ὕδατος, ὑγιὴς ἐγίνετο, ᾧ δήποτε κατείχετο νοσήματι. The question is whether this passage is genuine or not.

I. Testimony *against* it:—

1. ℵ, B, C*, 157, 314 omit the whole passage.
   A*, L, 18 omit the clause ἐκδεχομένων... κίνησιν.
   D, 33 omit the whole of verse 4.
   S, Π, Λ, and about fourteen cursives, mark verse 4 with either asterisks or obeli.
2. *q* omits the whole; *f*, *l* omit verse 4.
   Syr. C omits the whole; H obelizes.
   Theb., and Memph. (Schwartze) omit.
   Arm. (many of the codices) also omit.
3. No writers, but those mentioned below, allude to the narrative.

II. Testimony for it:—

1. (A), C^3, E, F, G, (L), &c. &c. give the passage, but *with many variations*.
2. All the other Latin codices, but those mentioned

above, both of the Vet. Lat. and the Vulgate; Syrr: P. and J.; and Memph. (Wilkins).

3. Tertullian, Chrysostom, Cyril Alex., Ambrose, Theophylact, and Euthymius recognise the narrative.

In reviewing this evidence, we find that the further back we go the weaker becomes the support; and the numerous variations with which the passage is given cause still further suspicion. It is a little singular that the earliest evidence in its favour seems to point to Africa as its origin; as if there were perhaps some tradition afloat there, which took the form of a marginal gloss, and thence crept into the text. The weight of the earliest evidence is too strongly adverse to warrant our retaining the passage *in the text.*

(6.) S. Luke xxii. 43, 44. *ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν. καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐκτενέστερον προσηύχετο. καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἱδρὼς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.* These two verses have been called in question; but without sufficient reason, as will be seen from the following statement of the evidence.

I. Evidence against the passage:—

1. ℵ², A, B, R, T, 124.

13 has *ὤφθη δέ* (*prima manu*); the remainder added *sec. man.*

C³, 69, and all known Evangelistaria, have the passage inserted after S. Matt. xxvi. 39.

E, S, V, Δ, and others, including nine cursives, place an obelus or asterisk against it.

2. *f*; Memph. (one codex), Thebaic (ed. Woide), and some Armenian, omit.

Syr. H (mg) marks with an obelus.

3. Cyril Alex. does not notice the verses in his Homilies on the Gospel of S. Luke; nor does

S. Athanasius quote them, where it would have been natural for him to do so. Hilary testifies that the passage is wanting in very many Greek and Latin codices; S. Jerome, that it is found in some.

II. Testimony for the passage:—

1. ℵ* and [3], D, F, G, H, K, L, &c., and nearly all cursives. A has the Ammonian section which belongs to the passage *marked in the margin*; though the verses are wanting in the text.
2. All the codices of the Vet. Lat., but *f*; Syrr. C, P, H, and J; Thebaic (one codex); Memph. (edd. Wilkins *and* Schwartze); Arm. (some).
3. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Hippolytus, and Dionysius Alex. very clearly refer to it; as do Hilary, Jerome, and Augustine.

Thus there is very full and early evidence in favour of the passage; in fact, the only very strong argument against it is its omission by B; and with this may be contrasted its presence in ℵ.

On the whole, there is no reasonable doubt upon the passage.

(7.) S. Matt. xxi. 28–31. The difficulties in connexion with this passage do not admit of being stated very shortly. There is a question of words in verse 31, viz. whether ὕστερος, or ἔσχατος, the meaning of which would be nearly the same, is to be substituted for πρῶτος in the answer of the Chief Priests. But this is complicated by a question of the order of the narrative; for some of the authorities transpose the answers of the two sons in the parable, placing first the answer of the son who professed to do his father's bidding but went not, and the answer of the other son second. Thus we really have three questions to consider:—

(*α*) The order in which the sons are mentioned.

(*β*) Which of the two sons did the Chief Priests intend to assert had done his father's bidding?

(*γ*) The choice between the three words, πρῶτος, ὕστερος, or ἔσχατος.

And we must take the evidence in the order here indicated.

(*α*) To decide, then, the order in which the two sons are mentioned we have the following data:—

I. For the order of the Textus Receptus—

1. ℵ, C, D, L, X, Z, &c., and most of the cursives.
2. Vet. Lat.; Vulg.; Syrr. C, P, and H.
3. Origen, Eusebius, Cyril, Chrysostom, Irenæus (*int.*), Hilary.

II. For the converse order, which would make the elder son promise to go and then fail:—

1. B, and seven cursives.
2. One MS. of the Vulg. (*sec. man.*); Memph.; Syr. J; Arm.; Æth. (two codices).
3. Isidore, John of Damascus, the Pseudo-Athanasius.

(*β*) As to the second question, which of the two sons the Chief Priests meant to say had done the father's bidding, we have to notice that all the MSS. and versions enumerated above, which reverse the order in which the sons are mentioned, also substitute ὕστερος or δεύτερος, or some equivalent word, for the πρῶτος of the Textus Receptus: thus the reply of the Chief Priests to our Lord is represented as virtually the same in either case. But D, and a good many codices both of the Vetus Latina and the Vulgate, which agree with the Textus Receptus in the order of the sons, have respectively ἔσχατος and *novissimum* for πρῶτος; thus transposing the connexion. S. Jerome interprets this answer on

the hypothesis that the Chief Priests knew what answer our Lord intended them to give, but purposely gave a wrong one: at the same time, however, he asserts that '*vera exemplaria*' had *primum* and not *novissimum* for their reading. There is only then the witness of D, backed by the partial testimony of the Latin versions, in favour of this answer of the Chief Priests.

On the whole, then, the evidence for the order of the Textus Receptus is conclusive; and the evidence for making the Chief Priests recognise the obedience of the son, who at first refused but afterwards repented, is overwhelming.

(γ) And thus we are helped to an easy solution of the third question: namely, that we must adopt the reading πρῶτος of the Textus Receptus.

There are one or two subordinate variations, but not of sufficient consequence to demand separate treatment.

It may be remarked that Dr. Tregelles adopts the reading ὁ ὕστερος *without* the previous transposition of the two sons, and explains it as equivalent to ὁ ὕστερον μεταμεληθείς; the grammatical possibility of which may well be questioned.

(8.) Acts xx. 28. There are *six* readings here to decide between, viz. (1) τοῦ Θεοῦ. (2) τοῦ Κυρίου. (3) τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ. (4) τοῦ Κυρίου Θεοῦ. (5) τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ Κυρίου. (6) τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

It will be most convenient to consider them in the reverse order to that in which they are here enumerated.

In favour of (6) there is—

1. No MS. authority.
2. Syr. P; and Vet. Lat. *m* (*Jesu Christi*).
3. Athanasius (some codices), Origen, Theodoret.

This therefore may be at once dismissed as a gloss.

In favour of (5), only cursive No. 47 is quoted.

In favour of (4), only No. 3, and 95 (*sec. man.*).

In favour of (3)—

1. C^3, H, L, P, and more than one hundred and ten cursives.
2. The Slavonic (Tregelles' Printed Text), but no version of critical value.
3. Theophylact (in one place).

These three variants then may be dismissed as *conflate* readings, which really only testify to the existence of a doubt in early times between the claims of the two remaining important readings, Θεοῦ and Κυρίου. Between these the evidence is so nearly balanced, that the decision cannot be absolutely final.

In favour of (2) we find—

1. A, C*, D, E, and about fifteen examined cursives.
2. Theb.; Memph.; Syr. H (mg); Arm.; and (according to Tischendorf) the Roman Æthiopic.
3. Irenæus (*int.*), Apostolic Constitutions, Athanasius (one codex), Didymus, Chrysostom (in a catena).

But some of the quotations adduced, as that of Eusebius, συνηγμένοι διὰ Κυρίου οὓς αὐτὸς ἐλυτρώσατο τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι, are not close enough to the text to warrant us in asserting that one and not the other reading was intended to be quoted. There is a reminiscence of the passage, doubtless, but not a verbal quotation.

On the other hand, in favour of (1) are ranged—

1. ℵ, B, about ten cursives, and twelve Lectionaries.
2. Vulg.; Syr. H (text).
3. Chrysostom (three times), Cyril Alex. (twice), Epiphanius, and others. This is the only passage that would give Scriptural warrant for the

remarkable expression of S. Ignatius, ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ (Ad Ephes. 1); but in opposition to this the strong assertion of S. Athanasius is alleged, οὐδὰμοῦ αἷμα Θεοῦ δίχα σαρκὸς παραδεδώκασιν αἱ γραφαί.

This is just one of the cases to which the remark of Dean Alford, quoted at pp. 4, 5, applies with its full force. Whichever of the two readings we suppose to have been the original, some reason may be supposed for the substitution of the other. Ἡ ἐκκλησία (αἱ ἐκκ.) τοῦ Θεοῦ is a common expression of S. Paul; Ἡ ἐκκ. τοῦ Κυρίου occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. Again, it is a small argument, perhaps, but not to be wholly passed over, that while ὁ Κύριος occurs three times in this speech of S. Paul to the Ephesian Elders, it is always with some addition: in two places (verses 24, 35) it is ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς; in the third (verse 21) there is some little doubt, but the reading is perhaps τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν (Χριστόν). Now when a person is speaking under the influence of strong emotion, he commonly uses his own natural, that is, his characteristic, style; and moreover, he is very apt to repeat without variation the expressions in which the idea which he desires to impress upon his audience first suggested itself. There seems a peculiar tenderness in S. Paul's dwelling thus upon the name of his Lord. These considerations would rather lead us to look for the familiar τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, and to expect that if Κυρίου were S. Paul's word he would have added Ἰησοῦ or Ἰησου Χριστοῦ.

It may be said on the other side with much force, that it is more likely that the unusual Κυρίου should be altered into the familiar Θεοῦ, than the reverse, which could only be done for theological reasons; a charge we are always unwilling to bring.

There is weight too in what Tischendorf says; that, if we assume Κυρίου to be the original reading, it is much easier to

understand the addition of Θεοῦ, and thus get at the origin of those mixed readings, than to understand the addition of Κυρίου, if Θεοῦ had stood originally in the text.

Tregelles and Tischendorf both place Κυρίου in the text; Tregelles places Θεοῦ in the margin, as an alternative reading strongly supported. Perhaps this is the best conclusion that the evidence admits of.

(9.) Acts xi. 20. We will discuss one more passage, which records an interesting fact in the history of the infant Church. The question here is between the reading of the Textus Receptus Ἑλληνιστάς, and Ἕλληνας.

I. For Ἑλληνιστάς :—

1. B, D^2, E, H, L, P, 13, 61, and almost all cursives. ℵ*, which has the strange reading Εὐαγγελίστας, seems from the termination of that word to favour this reading.
2. No version can be quoted in its support; but no great stress can be laid on this fact, since the versions in general appear not to recognise the distinction.
3. S. Chrysostom, with Œcumenius and Theophylact, in *quoting the passage* favour this reading; but as their commentaries clearly imply the other reading, it may be that the text has here been altered by the transcribers.

II. For Ἕλληνας :—

1. ℵ³, A, D*, *c* (of Mr. Scrivener's MSS.).
2. Armenian; and apparently the Æthiopic (Tregelles).
3. Eusebius and Chrysostom, followed by Œcumenius and Theophylact as indicated above, in his commentary, e. g. ὅρα, Ἕλλησιν εὐαγγελίζονται.

Taken simply by itself the evidence might seem to be pretty evenly balanced: but we must throw into the scale the important consideration that the reading Ἑλληνιστὰς makes nonsense of the passage. There is evidently a contrast intended by the writer between the Ἰουδαῖοι, to whom the other preachers of the gospel spoke, and the persons addressed by these men of Cyprus and Cyrene at Antioch. This contrast is heightened by the καί, which is undoubtedly to be inserted after ἐλάλουν. But the Ἑλληνισταὶ were Jews; and the proper antithesis to Ἑλληνιστῆς is not Ἰουδαῖος but Ἑβραῖος. We are constrained therefore to adopt Ἕλληνας as the true reading.

NOTE ON S. MARK XVI. 9–20.

Mr. Burgon's book on The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to S. Mark has been published since these pages were put into the printer's hands. We have thought it best to leave the original statement of the case unaltered, only placing in square brackets those portions of the evidence which Mr. Burgon's researches have shown to be untrustworthy. The reader will thus see what was supposed to be the evidence until now, and what we must now accept. He will also see how little real difference there is after all between the conclusion stated above, which is substantially that of Dean Alford and Dr. Tregelles, and the conclusion to be drawn from Mr. Burgon's corrected premisses.

We believe that the results of Mr. Burgon's work, so far as it bears *directly* on the evidence, may be not unfairly summarised as follows:—

1. The evidence of the 'about 30 cursives' is really in favour of, and not adverse to, these verses forming a part of the Gospel. They all have a scholion recognising the absence of them from some codices; at the same time in various words they testify to their being found 'in others,' 'in many,' 'in the ancient copies,' 'in the true Palestinian copy,' or 'in the approved copies preserved at Jerusalem.'
2. The evidence of the Fathers commonly quoted as adverse to the authenticity of the verses is really to be reduced to that of Eusebius. He does seem to have had some doubt about them, but the others only quote his words.

3. The force of the argument drawn from the alleged sudden change of style and phraseology is shown to be much less than it is commonly represented to be.
4. Most striking of all is Mr. Burgon's explanation of the undoubted omission of these verses from so many codices. He shows that the word τέλος, whose occurrence at the 8th verse has misled so many critics, is really only the mark of the conclusion of an important ecclesiastical Lection; and reminds us, in addition, that S. Mark's Gospel often, and in the West usually, stood last in order of the four; whence it might easily happen that the last verses of S. Mark were written on the last leaf of the codex, and so might be in danger of being damaged or torn away.

The adverse testimony then is reduced to—

1. The fact of the absence of these verses from a certain number of codices.
2. The deliberate opinion of Eusebius, which would be implied by his not 'canonizing' further than verse 8; assuming the statement ἕως οὗ Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου ἐκανόνισεν.
3. The somewhat marked difference of phraseology.

But this is balanced by such strong external evidence, that we are driven to the conclusion that these verses have formed part of the canonical Gospel from the earliest times of which we have knowledge. The question only remains, Are they from S. Mark's own pen? Now, inasmuch as the claim of any part of Scripture to be received by us depends, not upon our knowledge of the writer, but upon the authority of the universal Church which has pronounced it canonical, it appears to us that a question of doubtful authorship is to be treated as a purely literary question, to be solved by the proper use of the critical and judicial faculties; and that such considerations as these may be allowed their full weight. There is certainly a difference between the first eight and the last twelve verses of this 16th chapter, which is not likely to occur in the composition of an author writing continuously. Whether S. Mark wrote them at an interval of some time from the rest, or whether he incorporated an account by a different hand from his own, as S. Luke certainly did both in his Gospel and in the Acts, or whether his Gospel, being for some reason incomplete, was completed in Apostolic times by the addition of an already existing narrative, need make no difference in our acceptance of the passage as inspired.

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF THE CHIEF UNCIAL MSS.

In the following list are given, the letter by which each MS. is usually cited, the common name of the MS., the century when it was transcribed, and its present locality; and in some instances its contents and condition are indicated.

The designation-letters are of course those now commonly assigned; and will be found to agree with the list of Tischendorf, so far as his latest (eighth) edition has been published. But if the student should compare it with any old list, as that prefixed to Bruder's Concordance, or that of any old critical edition of the New Testament, he will find discrepancies. For some of the older known MSS. have been dropped out for critical reasons, as O (Montefalconii) and R (Tubingensis) in Bruder's list; and others, as J (Cottonianus) and Γ (Vaticanus), have been proved to be parts of N (Codex Purpureus), and are now quoted under that same letter N: and the letters thus set free have been assigned to other MSS. more recently discovered. The names of primary uncials are in capitals, the names of secondary uncials in black type.

ℵ. Cod. SINAITICUS [IV]. Imperial Library at Petersburg. A great part of Old Testament, and the New

Testament entire. The Cod. Friderico-Augustanus at Leipsic is really a part of this MS. (See further, p. 33, &c.)

A. Cod. ALEXANDRINUS [V]. Library of the British Museum in London. The whole of the Old and New Testaments, except a few leaves which have been lost. It contains also the only extant copy of the first Epistle of Clement of Rome, and a fragment of the second, placed as if they belonged to the Canonical books. The writing is continuous, in uncial characters of very elegant and clear form, with capital letters larger than the rest, and projecting beyond the line, at the beginning of books and sections. A very simple punctuation is introduced, consisting of a single point at the end of a sentence, followed by a break in the writing. There are no accents or breathings, except at the beginning of the book of Genesis, where the first four lines of each column are written in vermillion. Each page has two columns. The τίτλοι, the 'Ammonian Sections,' and the Eusebian Canons are found complete in the Gospels; but there are no marginal marks of division throughout the rest of the New Testament, though the text is divided as the sense requires by paragraphs and capitals. The titles and subscriptions of the books are still very short and simple, though a little longer than those found in ℵ and B: e. g. for κατα Μαθθαιον we here find εὐαγγελιον κατα Μαθθαιον, &c.

To determine the date of the Codex we have such arguments as these:—The presence of the Epistles of Clement, the shortness of the subscriptions, and the absence of the Euthalian divisions of the Acts

and Epistles, would all point to a date not later than the middle of the fifth century; while the insertion of the Eusebian Canons, and of the Epistle of Athanasius to Marcellinus, would prevent our assigning a date earlier than the latter half of the fourth. But the style of the writing is somewhat later than that of ℵ and B, and would point to the early part of the fifth century.

B. 1. Cod. VATICANUS [IV]. Vatican Library in Rome. The Old and New Testaments, except the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, and a part of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Apocalypse and the missing part of the Epistle to the Hebrews have been added by a more recent hand. (See further, p. 37, &c.)

2. Cod. **Basilianus** [VIII]. Vatican Library in Rome. Apocalypse.

C. Cod. EPHRAEMI [V]. Imperial Library in Paris. Fragments of the LXX, and of all the books of the New Testament but 2 Thessalonians and 2 S. John. It is a palimpsest MS. (*Codex rescriptus*). In many palæographical details there is great similarity between this MS. and Cod. A. The writing is somewhat smaller and a little more elaborate than that of A, and there is but one column of long lines on a page; but there is the same absence of accents and breathings, the same simple punctuation, the same sort of initial capital letters, and the same simple subscriptions to the books. Moreover the Ammonian Sections are marked, and the lists of τίτλοι are given at the beginning of each Gospel; while there are no marks of the division

into chapters in the other books. These characteristics point to the fifth century as the date of its transcription. Three correctors have left their traces on the MS., which is one of first-rate importance.

D. 1. Cod. BEZÆ [VI]. Cambridge University Library. This MS. contains portions of the Gospels in the *Western* order (viz. SS. Matthew, John, Luke, Mark), and the Acts; between which stood formerly the Catholic Epistles, now represented by only a few verses of 3 S. John. Out of 534 leaves, which it must once have possessed, 128 are gone. It is a Græco-Latin MS., written stichometrically, the Greek being placed on the left-hand page of the opening, the Latin on the right, and on the whole corresponding line for line. The Latin is thought (see Scrivener's Edition of the Cod. Bezæ, Introd. pp. xxxiv. n. 1; lxiv) not to be an independent version, but a translation from another Greek text almost identical with that of the codex itself.

The initial letters are not larger than the rest, but stand out a little from the line, as in cod. ℵ; and there are no marks of divisions inserted by the original scribe.

A great deal of the interest of this MS. depends upon the interpolations with which it abounds, especially in the Acts; some of which are unsupported by any other authority, some are countenanced by the Vetus Latina and Curetonian Syriac versions. These are so characteristic that, as stated above (p. 69), some critics have formed a separate group of the authorities in which they occur. They are

probably due to the influence of tradition still lingering on, and are at all events a proof of the extreme antiquity of any such text.

Apart from these interpolations D presents a very valuable text, akin in its readings to that of the Alexandrine type.

D. 2. Cod. CLAROMONTANUS [VI]. Imperial Library at Paris. The Epistles of S. Paul, with one small hiatus, Romans i. 1–7. A Græco-Latin MS., stichometrically written. The Latin version represents the Vetus Latina.

E. 1. Cod. **Basileensis** [VIII]. Public Library at Basel. The Gospels entire, except a few verses of S. Luke.

2. Cod. LAUDIANUS [VI]. Bodleian Library at Oxford. The Acts, with one hiatus (xxvi. 29–xxviii. 26). A Græco-Latin MS., written in very short στίχοι. The Latin follows the Greek closely, and is therefore not an independent authority.

3. Cod. **Sangermanensis** [X]. Imperial Library at Petersburg. The Epistles of S. Paul, but mutilated in two or three places. A Græco-Latin MS., and a transcript of D_2.

F. 1. Cod. **Boreeli** [IX]. Public Library at Utrecht. The four Gospels, but mutilated. The MS. appears to have suffered further injury since its first collation by Wetstein (Tischendorf).

2. Cod. AUGIENSIS [IX]. Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. The Epistles of S. Paul. A Græco-Latin MS.; the Latin being an example of the best Vulgate, 'somewhat tampered with in parts

to make it suit the Greek text.' Rom. i. 1–iii. 19 is wanting: and *the Greek* of 1 Cor. iii. 8–16, vi. 7–14, Col. ii. 1–8, and Philem. 21–25, with the entire Epistle to the Hebrews, is wanting; the Latin however remains.

F_a Cod. **Coislianus** 1 (*marg.*) [VII]. Paris. By this letter are designated some fragments of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles of S. Paul, found in marginal notes to the great Septuagint Octateuch known as Codex Coislianus 1.

G. 1. Cod. **Harleianus** (formerly known as Seidelii I, or Wolfii A) [IX or X]. Library of British Museum in London. The Gospels, much mutilated.

2. Cod. **Angelicus** (or *Passionei*) [IX]. Library of the Augustinian monks at Rome. The Acts and Catholic Epistles entire, except that it only commences at Acts viii. 10 (μις του θεου). The same MS. contains the Pauline Epistles; but is cited for them under the designation L (see below, L_2).

3. Cod. BOERNERIANUS [IX]. Royal Library at Dresden. The Epistles of S. Paul, but mutilated in places. A Græco-Latin MS. The Latin is interlinear, and in a cursive character; a specimen of the Vetus Latina altered to suit the Greek. As to the Greek text, this MS. is a sister MS. to F_2; the two MSS. having been clearly copied from the same archetype: not so the Latin. Moreover it once formed part of the same volume as Δ (see below).

H. 1. Cod. **Seidelii** (formerly Seidelii II, or Wolfii B) [IX or X]. Public Library at Hamburg. The Gospels, a good deal mutilated.

H. 2. Cod. **Mutinensis** [IX]. Grand Ducal Library at Modena. The Acts, mutilated.

3. Cod. COISLIANUS 202 [VI]. Fragments of the Epistles of S. Paul, stichometrically written, of which twelve leaves are at Paris, and two at Petersburg.

I. FRAGMENTA PALIMPSESTA TISCHENDORFIANA (or Cod. Tischendorfianus II). Under this designation are cited (severally as I_a, I_b, &c.) seven fragments of the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline Epistles, now at Petersburg, ranging from the fifth to the seventh century.

[J. This letter is not now used. In older critical editions three different MSS. might be found cited under it, viz.

1. For the Gospels, the MS. here described under N.
2. For the Acts, the MS. described under G_2.
3. For the Catholic Epistles, the MS. described under K_2.]

K. 1. Cod. **Cyprius** [IX]. Imperial Library in Paris. The four Gospels complete.

2. Cod. **Mosquensis** [IX]. Library of the Holy Synod at Moscow. The Catholic Epistles entire; and S. Paul's Epistles, with two hiatus, one of which extends to five verses only.

L. 1. Cod. REGIUS [VIII or IX]. Imperial Library in Paris. The four Gospels, with four small hiatus.

2. Cod. **Angelicus** [IX]. Rome. That portion of Cod. G_2 (see above) which contains the Pauline Epistles down to Heb. xiii. 10.

M. 1. Cod. **Campianus** [IX or X]. Imperial Library in Paris. The four Gospels complete.

2. Cod. RUBER [X]. Fragments of the two Epistles to the Corinthians and of the Epistle to the Hebrews, amounting to 196 verses in all. Two folio leaves are at Hamburg, in the Johanneum; and parts of two more in London, at the Library of the British Museum.

N. Cod. PURPUREUS [VI or VII]. Three fragments of the Gospels of S. Matthew, S. Luke, and S. John are cited under this designation. Four leaves are in the British Museum, six at the Vatican, and two at Vienna. These fragments used to be cited separately as J, N, and Γ respectively.

N^b. [IV or V]. Some palimpsest fragments of S. John in the British Museum, brought from a Nitrian monastery.

O_a,...O_f. Copies of the Evangelic Hymns (Magnificat, &c.) found in Psalters at different places. There are *seven* such, varying between the sixth and ninth centuries.

P. Cod. GUELPHERBYTANUS I [VI]. The Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel. A palimpsest containing fragments of the Gospels.

Q. Cod. GUELPHERBYTANUS II [VI]. A MS. of the same place, date, and character as P, but containing fragments only of S. Luke and S. John.

R. Cod. NITRIENSIS [VI]. British Museum in London. Large fragments of S. Luke.

S. Cod. **Vaticanus** 354 [X]. Vatican Library in Rome. The four Gospels entire.

T. Cod. BORGIANUS I [V]. Library of the Propaganda in Rome. Fragments of S. Luke and S. John. A Græco-Sahidic MS.

U. Cod. **Nanianus** [IX or X]. Library of S. Mark's, Venice. The four Gospels entire.

V. Cod. **Mosquensis** [VIII or IX]. Library of the Holy Synod, Moscow. The four Gospels, but mutilated. It is written stichometrically.

X. Cod. MONACENSIS [IX or X]. University Library in Munich. The four Gospels, but much mutilated.

Y. Cod. BARBERINI 225 [VIII]. Barberini Library in Rome. A fragment containing 137 verses of S. John.

Z. Cod. DUBLINENSIS RESCRIPTUS [VI]. Library of Trinity College, Dublin. A palimpsest fragment, with 290 verses of S. Matthew's Gospel.

Γ. Cod. **Tischendorfianus** IV [IX]. A codex of the four Gospels, complete except two passages of S. Matthew and S. Mark: but part of it is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, part at Petersburg.

Δ. Cod. SANGALLENSIS [IX]. Library of the monastery at S. Gall in Switzerland. A Græco-Latin MS., containing the four Gospels entire, except S. John xix. 17–35, with an interlinear Latin translation. (See above under G_3.)

Θ. Cod. TISCHENDORFIANUS I [VII]. University Library at Leipsic. A few fragments of S. Matthew.

Λ. Cod. **Tischendorfianus** III [VIII or IX]. Bodleian Library at Oxford. The Gospels of S. Luke and S. John entire.

Ξ. Cod. ZACYNTHIUS [VIII]. Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London. A palimpsest, containing considerable portions of S. Luke's Gospel, with a catena.

Π. Cod. **Petropolitanus** [IX]. Petersburg. Contains the Gospels nearly entire.

There are besides a number of small fragments referred to by Tischendorf. It has been thought needless to insert them in the above list. Any one using his last edition, in which they are cited, will find there all the necessary information about them.

APPENDIX D.

A LIST OF THE LATIN CODICES MOST COMMONLY CITED IN CRITICAL EDITIONS.

THE following nomenclature will be found to differ considerably from that given by Professor Westcott in his article 'Vulgate' in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. Without presuming to give an opinion on the merits of one or the other, we have chosen this; because, as it is the nomenclature used by Tregelles, Tischendorf, and Alford in their editions of the Greek Testament, there is at all events a necessity for the student to be acquainted with it.

1. *Of the Text before S. Jerome's Revision.*

a. Cod. *Vercellensis* [IV]. At Vercelli. The four Gospels, but much mutilated. Probably the best example of the Vetus Latina.

b. Cod. *Veronensis* [IV or V]. At Verona. The four Gospels, with several hiatus. A good example of the Vetus Latina.

c. Cod. *Colbertinus* [XI]. At Paris. In the four Gospels it is a very pure specimen of the Vetus Latina: the rest of it is by a different hand, and gives S. Jerome's text.

d. 1. Is the Latin version of D_1 (see p. 115). Of little critical importance, except where the Greek is wanting.

2. Is the Latin version of D_2 (p. 116). This is of more critical value than d_1, and appears to be a specimen of the Vetus Latina.

e. 1. Cod. *Palatinus* [V]. At Vienna. A MS. much mutilated, containing fragments only of SS. Matthew and Mark, and very nearly the whole of SS. Luke and John. . The Gospels stand in the order SS. Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. An example of the Vetus Latina slightly altered.

2. The Latin version of E_2 (see p. 116).

3. The Latin version of E_3 (see p. 116).

f. Cod. *Brixianus* [VI]. At Brescia. The four Gospels, with only two hiatus in S. Mark. Supposed to be an example of the *Versio Itala*, or North Italian recension of the Vetus Latina.

ff^1, ff^2. Codd. *Corbeienses*. Described as 'very ancient;' but no exact date given. They take their name from the Abbey of Corbey in Picardy, to which they once belonged. ff^1 is now at Petersburg, and contains S. Matthew's Gospel and the Epistle of S. James. There is some doubt apparently whether or not it contains the first five chapters of S. Mark. ff^2 contains the four Gospels almost entire. The text is mixed; i. e. the Vetus Latina altered by some independent corrector.

g^1, g^2. Codd. *Sangermanenses*. Very ancient. They contain

the four Gospels (perhaps a little mutilated). A mixed text.

g. The Latin version of G_3. (See p. 117). The Epistles of S. Paul.

h. Cod. *Claromontanus* [IV or V]. Vatican Library at Rome. The Gospel of S. Matthew in the Vetus Latina; the other three in S. Jerome's Revision.

i. Cod. *Vindobonensis* [V or VI]. Vienna. Portions of S. Mark and S. Luke. A very valuable example of the Vetus Latina.

k. Cod. *Bobbiensis* [IV or V]. Turin. Fragments of S. Matthew, and one of S. Mark. An example of the Vetus Latina revised.

l. Cod. *Rhedigerianus* [VII]. Breslau. The four Gospels, mutilated. A mixed text.

m. Cardinal Mai's *Speculum* [VI]. Monastery of S. Croce at Rome. Contains extracts from almost all the books of the New Testament. The text accords with the Vetus Latina.

n. Cod. *Sangallensis* [IV or V]. St. Gall. Fragments of SS. Matthew and Mark. Vetus Latina.

o. [VII]. A fragment of S. Mark, and

p. [VIII]. A fragment of S. John. Both at St. Gall.

q. Cod. *Monacensis* [VI]. Munich. Fragments of each of the Gospels. According to Professor Westcott an example of the *Versio Itala*. Smith's Dict. of Bible, art. 'Vulgate,' vol. iii. p. 1694.

r. Cod. *Frisingensis* [V or VI]. Munich. Fragments of S. Paul's Epistles.

s. Another Cod. *Bobbiensis* [V ?]. Vienna. Fragments of the Acts and Catholic Epistles.

gue. Cod. *Guelpherbytanus* [VI]. Wolfenbüttel. A palimpsest, containing a fragment of about thirty-three verses of the Epistle to the Romans.

δ. The interlinear Latin version of Δ. (See above, p. 120).

2. *Of S. Jerome's Revision.*

Only a few of the best known are here mentioned.

am. Cod. *Amiatinus* [VI]. Laurentian Library at Florence. Old and New Testament nearly perfect.

for. Cod. *Forojuliensis* [VI]. At Friuli. Gospels of SS. Matthew and Luke, and nearly the whole of S. John. Part of S. Mark's Gospel is at Venice, and part at Prague.

ful. Cod. *Fuldensis* [VI]. Abbey of Fulda in Hesse Cassel. The whole of the New Testament.

harl. Cod. *Harleianus* [VII]. The Gospels.

pe. or *per.* *Fragmenta Perusina.* Very ancient. At Perugia. Fragments of S. Luke.

prag. Under this designation Tischendorf cites the portion of Cod. *Forojuliensis* said above to be at Prague.

tol. Cod. *Toletanus* [VIII]. Cathedral Library at Toledo. Old and New Testament written in Gothic characters.

APPENDIX E.

A LIST OF FATHERS WHOSE WRITINGS ARE OF IMPORTANCE IN THE CRITICISM OF THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THOSE whose works are in Latin are printed in italics: those which are of primary importance are in capitals. With the exception of a very few writers, who are frequently cited in critical editions, none are inserted of later date than the fourth century. In each case the century is given to which the working-life of the writer belonged. This must be remembered in comparing these notices with some lists in which the year of the birth or death only is given. A general description of the works of each is added.

Ambrose, Bishop of Milan [IV]. Commentaries, Sermons, Epistles, and Treatises on various ecclesiastical subjects.

AMBROSIASTER: perhaps Hilary the Deacon [IV]. So called because his Commentaries on S. Paul's Epistles were frequently published among the works of S. Ambrose.

ANDREAS OF CAPPADOCIA, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia [VI]. A Commentary on the Apocalypse. (Not to be confounded with Andreas of Crete, a writer of the next century.)

ATHANASIUS, Archbishop of Alexandria [IV]. Orations, Epistles, and Treatises, chiefly on subjects connected with the Arian controversy.

AUGUSTINE, Bishop of Hippo [IV]. His works are very numerous. The most important are, his great work *de Civitate Dei*, his *Confessions* and *Retractations*, and his *Commentary on the Psalms*. There are besides many Letters and Sermons, as well as Controversial and Philosophical Treatises. He appears to use the *Versio Itala* in his quotations.

BASIL THE GREAT, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia [IV]. Homilies, Ascetic writings, Letters, and some Treatises on special subjects.

Cassiodorus [VI]. At first a statesman, then a monk, of Italy. His works are various; *Historical*, *Literary*, and *Scientific* Treatises, as well as others expository, or illustrative of the Scriptures.

CHRYSOSTOM of Antioch, Archbishop of Constantinople [IV]. Homilies, Commentaries, Letters, and Treatises on special subjects.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA [III]. His three principal works are the Λόγος προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας (a Hortatory Address to the Gentiles), Παιδαγωγός, and Στρωματεῖς (Miscellanies). There is also a short practical treatise, τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος;

CYPRIAN, Bishop of Carthage [III]. A number of short treatises on various subjects, apologetic, expository, and controversial; and a valuable collection of Letters.

CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, Bishop [V]. Commentaries,

Homilies, Letters, and Dialogues on some of the chief Mysteries of the Faith.

Cyril of Jerusalem, Bishop [IV]. Κατηχήσεις, or Lectures on the Faith and Doctrines of the Church to Catechumens and Newly-baptized Persons.

Damascenus (Joannes) [VIII]. Numerous short treatises on controversial, theological, and ecclesiastical subjects.

DIDYMUS, of Alexandria [IV]. *Liber de Spiritu Sancto, de Trinitate,* and *adversus Manichæos.*

Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria [III]. Treatises, chiefly controversial; and Epistles. Only extracts and fragments remain.

Ephraem Syrus [IV]. Treatises, theological and moral, Homilies and Commentaries; they are in Syriac, and of use in connection with the Syriac versions.

EPIPHANIUS, Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus [IV]. *Ancoratus,* on the doctrine of the Trinity; *Panarium,* a treatise against Heresies; *De Ponderibus et Mensuris Liber.*

EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA, Bishop [IV]. His chief works are the *Chronicon, Præparatio Evangelica, Demonstratio Evangelica, Historia Ecclesiastica, De Martyribus Palæstinæ, De Vita Constantini, Onomasticon,* and several controversial treatises.

Euthymius Zigabenus [XII]. A Greek monk of Constantinople. His chief work for our purpose is a Commentary on the Four Gospels, compiled from the writings of S. Chrysostom and other early Fathers.

Gregory of Nazianzus, in Cappadocia, Bishop [IV]. Sermons, Letters, and Poems.

Gregory of Nyssa, in Cappadocia, Bishop [IV]. Treatises, doctrinal and practical; Discourses, Letters, Biographies.

Gregory Thaumaturgus, Bishop of Neocæsarea [III]. A *Paraphrase of Ecclesiastes*, an *Explanation of the Creed*, an *Epistola Canonica*, and a *Panegyrical Address to Origen*, are his extant works.

Hilary of Poictiers (*Pictavensis*), Bishop [IV]. His chief work is *De Trinitate Libri XII.* He wrote Commentaries on the Psalms and on S. Matthew's Gospel. Several smaller treatises are extant.

Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus [III]. Fragments only of his works remain, which are partly controversial, partly expository.

IRENÆUS, Bishop of Lyons [II]. Only one work of his remains, *Adversus Hæreses;* and of this only fragments of the original Greek are extant. But there is an old Latin translation, apparently contemporaneous with the original. The translator gives the quotations from Scripture in the Vetus Latina: hence the authority of S. Irenæus is of service in the criticism both of the Greek and Latin texts. The original and the translation are always cited separately, thus: Iren(*text*), and Iren(*int.*).

JEROME [IV]. *Epistles*, which are chiefly disquisitions on various Theological or Moral questions; *Tracts*, biographical or polemical; *Commentaries;* the *Chronica Eusebii*, translated and extended; the *Bibliotheca Divina*, which is the result of his critical labours on the Text of the Old and New Testaments.

Justin Martyr [II]. Two *Apologies* for the Christians, addressed to Antoninus Pius and Aurelius respectively; and a *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew.*

Lactantius [IV]. *Divinæ Institutiones*, a philosophical introduction to Christianity, against the pagan system. An *Epitome* of the same, and two or three other smaller pieces. His works are useful in the study of the Vetus Latina version.

LUCIFER OF CAGLIARI (Calaritanus), Bishop [IV]. Several treatises on questions of dogma and discipline arising out of the Arian controversy. Useful in consequence of the numerous quotations from the *Vetus Latina* version of the Scriptures.

[Marcion of Pontus, the Heretic [II]. None of his works survive entire, but there are many quotations in the writings of Tertullian and Epiphanius, which are cited as Marcion-$^{tert.}$, Marcion-$^{epiph.}$, respectively.]

Methodius Patarensis, Bishop [III]. Treatises on Free-will, the Resurrection, and Virginity.

Œcumenius, Bishop of Tricca in Thrace [X]. Commentaries on all the books of the New Testament but the Gospels.

ORIGEN [III]. The Tetrapla and Hexapla editions of the Old Testament; exegetical works, in the forms of *Commentaries*, *Scholia*, and *Homilies*. Of the rest of his voluminous writings only a few letters and extracts remain.

Rufinus of Aquileia [IV]. An Exposition of the Apostles' Creed. An Ecclesiastical History. A collection of Biographies; and several other original works, as well as numerous translations of Greek works, among

which are the Homilies of Origen, the works of Gregory of Nazianzus, and the Recognitions of Clement of Rome. He was a contemporary of S. Jerome.

TERTULLIAN, of Carthage [II and III]. Numerous treatises on various points of order and discipline: some also controversial. His quotations of Scripture are from the Vetus Latina.

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus or Cyrrhus in Syria [V]. His works were partly exegetical, including a Commentary on S. Paul's Epistles, partly historical, and partly controversial.

Theodore of Mopsuestia (in Cilicia), Bishop [V]. His chief works were exegetical. His Commentaries on the Twelve Minor Prophets are extant entire. Fragments only of his Commentaries on the Books of the New Testament remain, in catenæ.

Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria [XI]. Commentaries, founded on those of S. Chrysostom.

Victor Antiochenus [V]. Commentaries, of which fragments remain extant in catenæ.

Victorinus [IV]. Commentaries on the Epistles to the Galatians, Philippians, and Ephesians. His quotations are from the Latin before S. Jerome's Revision.

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